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**The Development of the Tourism Cultural Landscape
of the Cairns Region, 1890 to 1970**

Thesis submitted by
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in September 2005

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of Humanities
James Cook University

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Abstract

The tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region was ephemeral and mostly insubstantial until 1970 because the tourism industry was built on ideas, fantasies, myths and natural attractions. From the outset tourism in the region has been based on natural attractions such as rainforest, waterfalls, caves and the Great Barrier Reef. These have remained basically the same throughout the period 1890 to 1970 but individual attractions emerged and declined according to popular taste. They were reinvented according to changes in social and cultural preferences such as the Romantic, the picturesque, the scientific, the exotic and ecological 'ways of seeing.' Large engineering works such as the Kuranda railway and later the Tinaroo Dam were touted as tourist attractions in themselves, but proved to be secondary to the region's natural values. The changes in imagery in response to popular taste lead one to question where the 'authentic' tourist experience really lies. The infrastructure of the attractions was generally minimal, with the most obvious exceptions being Paronella Park and the Green Island Underwater Observatory, and suited to the image being projected, and was built on the back of major infrastructure such as railways, ports and towns provided for other economic development. Paradoxically, this often threatened the natural values on which the tourist industry was based, a tension which still exists today.

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS

Conversion Table: imperial to metric

Length

1 inch (in)	= 2.54 centimetres (cm)
1 foot (ft)	= 30.48 cm
1 mile	= 1.609 kilometres (km)

Area

1 square foot	= 9.29.030 square cm
1 acre	= 4046.856 sq m = .4046 hectares (ha)

Weight

1 ounce (oz) avoirdupois	= 28.349 grams (gr)
1 oz troy	= 31.1 gr
1 pound (lb)	= 453.5924 gr
1 hundredweight (cwt)	= 50.8032 kilograms (kg)
1 ton (long)	= 1018.18 kg = 1.018 tonnes
1 ton (short)	= 907.2 kg

Liquid

1 gallon	= 4.546 litres (l)
1 inch (rainfall)	= 25.4 millimetres (mm)

Imperial Measurements

Length and area

12 inches	= 1 foot
3 feet	= 1 yard
5280 feet	= 1 mile
66 feet	= 1 chain
100 links	= 1 chain
25 links	= 1 rod

8 furlongs	= 320 rods = 1 mile
640 acres	= 1 square mile

Weight

24 grains	= 1 pennyweight (dwt)
20 pennyweights	= 1 ounce troy
12 ounces troy	= 1 pound troy = .82286 pounds avoirdupois
12 ounces (avoirdupois)	= 1 pound
112 pounds avoirdupois	= 1 hundredweight
20 hundredweight	= 1 ton
2240 pounds	= 1 ton (long)
2000 pounds	= 1 ton (short)

Currency

12 pence (12d)	= 1 shilling (1/-)
20 shillings	= 1 pound (£1)

ABBREVIATIONS

ANTA	Australian National Travel Association
ATC	Australian Tourist Commission
ATCDA	Atherton Tableland Co-operative Dairying Association
A.U.S.N.	Australian United Steam Navigation Company Ltd
BP	Burns Philp
C&C	Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine
CDPA	Cairns and District Publicity Association
CDTDA	Cairns and District Tourist and Development Association
CTPA	Cairns and Tableland Progress Association
FNQTDA	Far North Queensland Tourist and Development Association
GBRMPA	Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority
PATA	Pacific Area Travel Association
QGTB	Queensland Government Tourist Bureau
QITB	Queensland Intelligence and Tourist Bureau
QNPWS	Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service
QSA	Queensland State Archives
QSNB	Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin
QTDB	Queensland Tourist Development Board
QTTC	Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation
TAA	Trans Australian Airlines
V&P	Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly

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INTRODUCTION

“CAIRNS: WHAT A WEALTH OF IMAGINATION IS GARNERED IN THAT ONE WORD”

...By the way, just what is the attractive power of the North? Colour, light, lazy warmth, open-hearted kindness, prodigal forest wealth, spendthrift beauty, jungle-green deepening to very blackness, fierceness of growth, Nature's cruelty, not in the animal, but in the vegetable world, mystery ...? But I forbear! To each, and to each in his own way, is the high pleasure of discovering Queensland...¹

Many tourist guide book authors like Clem Christiansen have pondered the attraction of the Cairns region to tourists. This was frequently in a rhapsodical manner as they sought to entice the prospective visitor to an exotic and adventurous place whilst providing assurances of comfort, safety and familiarity. The dual nature of these images is reflected in the places they sought to promote. Natural attractions were served by either temporary structures fitting Romantic ideas about the attraction, or prosaic buildings which differed little from those to be found in local towns. The aim of this thesis is to identify the characteristics of the tourism cultural landscape within the Cairns region for the period 1890 – 1970, and the way it has been represented over time. This involved an historical overview of the tourist industry and the images it projected for these places, a survey of tourism cultural heritage sites in the region, and analysis of the physical remains for selected sites. The thesis shows that the ‘tourism cultural landscape’ did not in fact develop in ways explicable by economic analysis, such as Butler and his followers, but was

¹ C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey: official guide of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau*, (Brisbane, circa 1935), p. 7.

a group of natural attractions marketed to suit changing aesthetics and paradigms in the popular consciousness: the Romantic, picturesque, exotic, tropical, scientific and ecological. In effect, it was a landscape of images as well as a physical entity. This explains the insubstantial or prosaic nature of surviving infrastructure in most of the attractions built before 1970. It also explains the shifting meanings of individual attractions over time.

Herein lies the value of this thesis. The tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region, like most other Australian tourism landscapes, has not been examined in this manner. Studies such as Berry's application of Butler's Destination Life Cycle Model to the Cairns region indicate that economic frameworks are inadequate in explaining the development of the region primarily because they fail, with their focus on the level of tourism development, to acknowledge the historical and social nature of destinations. This reflects the findings of commentators such as Tresidder who sees that tourism landscapes have been created by tourism marketing agencies which seek to exploit the tourist's desire to distance themselves from everyday reality.² This produces a homogenisation of the landscape whereby individual and community ideas about a place are displaced, producing what Relph calls a sense of 'placelessness'.³ The weakness of analysis of the tourism cultural landscape through its images lies in the subjectivity of images and the very concept of a cultural landscape. The value of using this approach in analysing the tourism cultural

² R. Tresidder, "The Representation of Sacred Spaces in a Post-Industrial Society," in M. Cotter, B. Boyd & J. Gardiner (Eds), *Heritage Landscapes: understanding place and communities*, (Lismore, 2001), p. 67.

³ L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place: the extraordinary geographies of everyday life*, (Essex, 2001), pp. 75 – 76.

landscape of the Cairns region lies in the way it highlights the power of an image to develop, maintain, enhance and perpetuate a 'destination' built around 'nature.' The meanings in any landscape, or any image, are however inherently contestable.

Cairns will be examined as a region in order to ascertain the institutional practices, values, images and history which have brought into being this historical tourist landscape. The thesis will look at the ways these factors shaped the physical places and were in turn shaped by these places. This will highlight the many and varied 'destinations' contained within the Cairns region, and Saarinen's idea that "...destination is not a stable, permanent socio-spatial structure, but a cultural landscape subject to continual transformation and reformation."⁴ The area from Cairns north to the Daintree, west to Chillagoe, south to Innisfail, and east to Green Island contains such a cultural landscape. (see Figures 1 and 1a) It is envisaged that the results of this study will provide valuable insights for tourism and cultural heritage entities at both a regional and national level. Although there was always tourist interest in Aboriginal culture, this study will be confined to mainly European tourism places.

Examination of the early literature pertaining to the region determined the geographical boundaries of the study area. The earliest references to the area in terms of travelling for leisure were to Chillagoe to the west of Cairns in the

⁴ J. Saarinen, "The social constructions of tourist destinations: the process of transformation of the Saariselkä tourism region in Finnish Lapland," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural Landscapes of Tourism*, (London, 2001), p. 160.

early 1890s by Ellis Rowan,⁵ north to the Daintree -Cape Tribulation area just after 1900 by Romantic adventure writer Louis Becke,⁶ east to the Great Barrier Reef, particularly Green and Dunk Islands, in the 1890s,⁷ and south to Innisfail and particularly Paronella Park in the 1930s when transportation of tourists to this area from Cairns became possible and economically viable. This means of determining a geographical boundary allows the region or destination to emerge on its own terms from the literature. This broad geographic definition of the Cairns region is one which persisted in the literature promoting the area until after World War 2 when the family car and greater ease of travel enabled tourists to explore other places of interest. A tourist map produced in the early 1970s indicates that the tourism cultural landscape's geographical boundaries had altered little, with the only omissions being Chillagoe and Dunk Island. (see Figure 2)

While the State government and the tourist industry are well aware of the value of tourist attractions, they seem less aware of the considerable cultural heritage value of these places. Under the guidelines of the *Queensland Heritage Act*, 1992, a place may be entered in the Heritage Register if it is of cultural heritage significance and

⁵ E. Rowan, *The Flower Hunter: the adventures, in Northern Australia and New Zealand, of flower painter Ellis Rowan*, (Sydney, 1898), pp. 52 – 68.

⁶ L. Becke, "A Quick Vengeance," in *The Pearl Divers of Roncador Reef and other short stories*, (London, 1908), pp. 279 – 285.

⁷ D. Heenan, *Dunk Island and Beaver Cay*, (Brisbane, 1994) & J.W. Collinson, "More about Cairns: The Second Decade," *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine (C & C)*, March 1941, vol. 17, pp. 23 & 37.

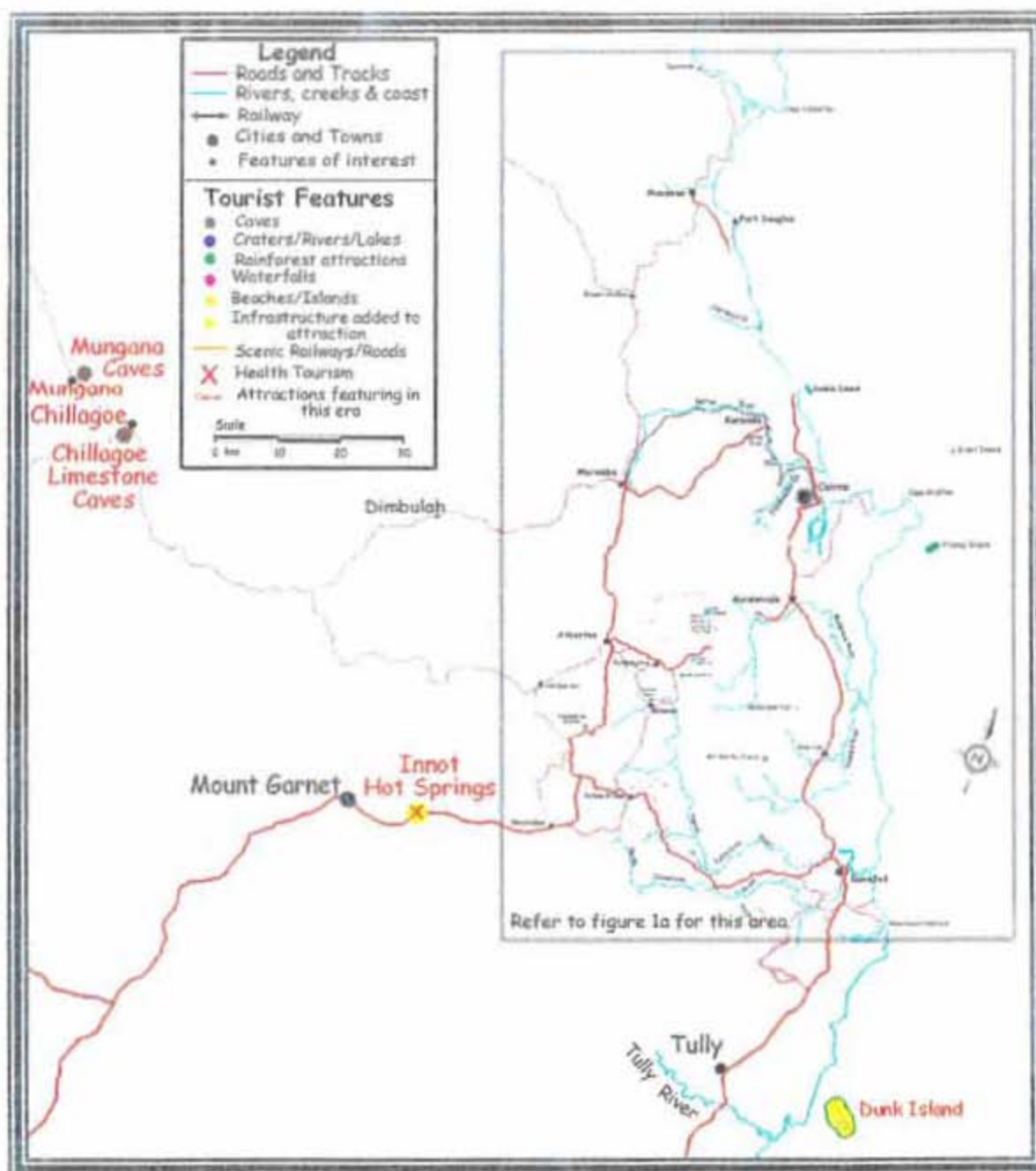


Figure 0.1: Tourism cultural landscape of Cairns region, circa 1900.

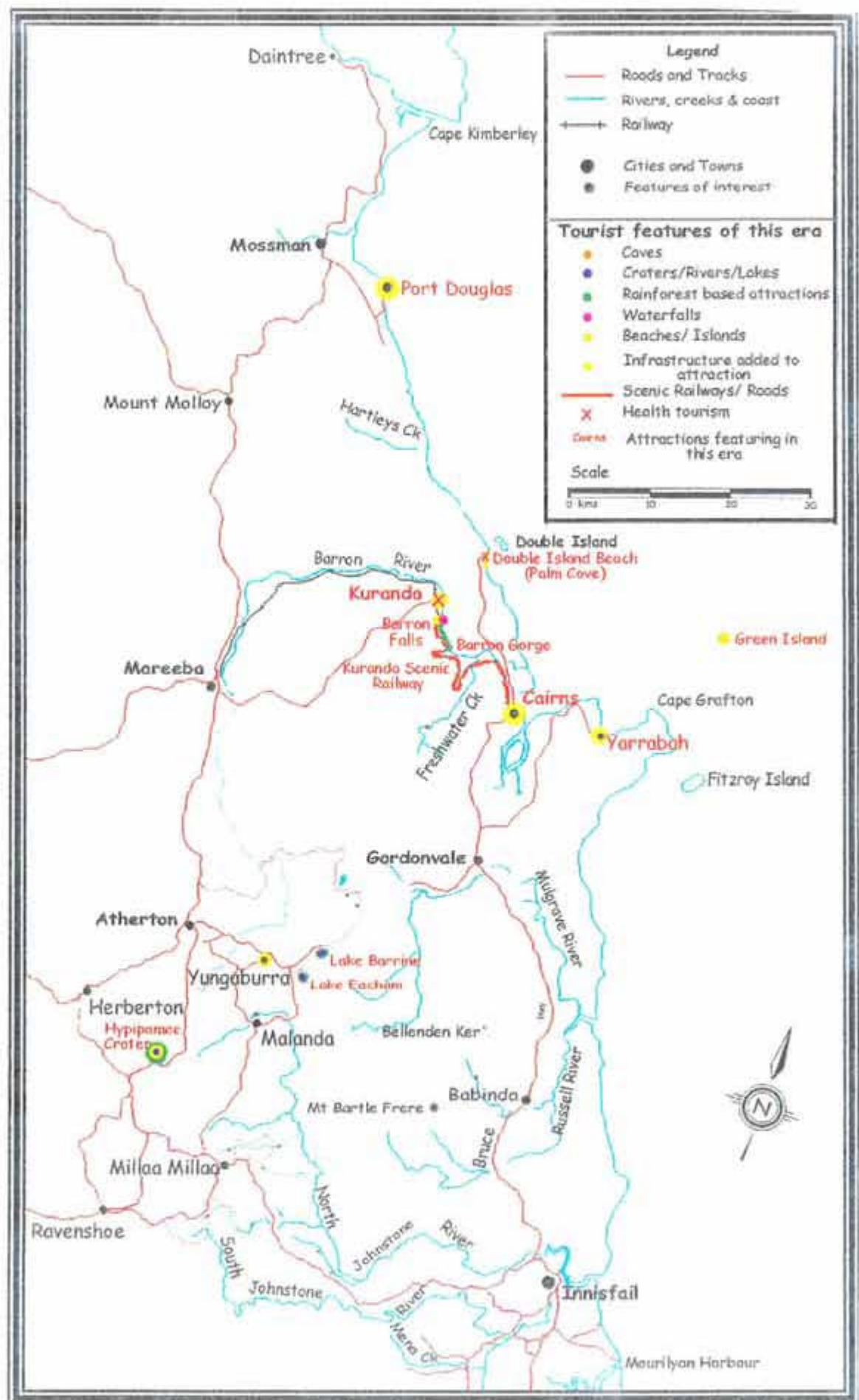


Figure 0.1a: inset: tourism cultural landscape of Cairns region, circa 1900.

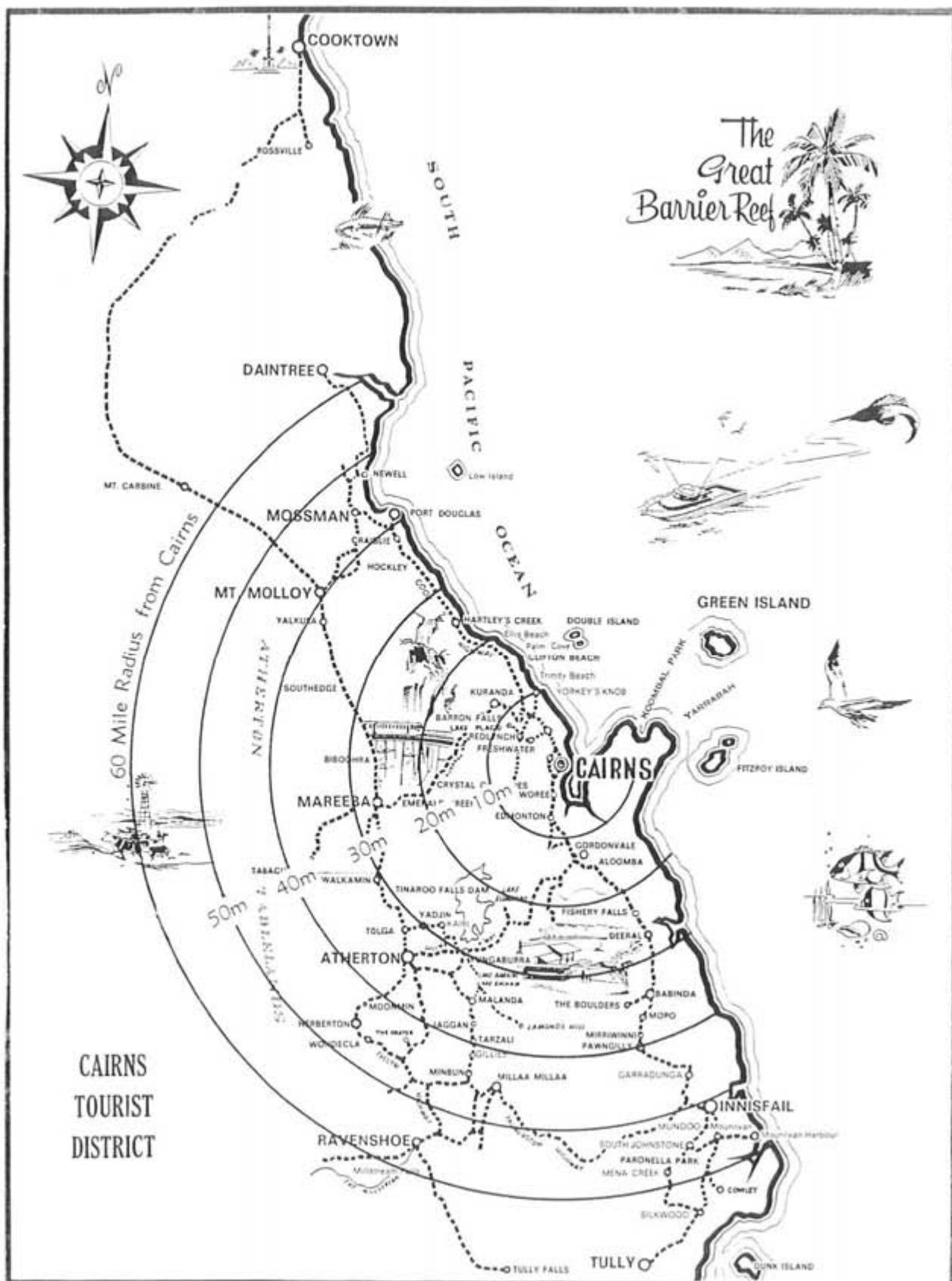


Figure 0.2: Map of Cairns Tourist District, 1971. (Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for the year 1970/71*)

satisfies one or more of the following criteria: it is important in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Queensland's history; it demonstrates rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Queensland's cultural heritage; it has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Queensland's history; it is important in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by the community or a particular cultural group; it is important in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period; it has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons; and / or it has a special association with the life or work of a particular person, group or organisation of importance in Queensland's history.⁸

This landscape has social value as a "storehouse of personal memories,"⁹ for its recreational use by locals and visitors alike. It is a landscape made up of mainly natural attractions, a number of which such as the beaches, the reef and the rainforest have spiritual and cultural sentiments attached to them by many members of both the local community and visitors. Recreational places such as picture theatres and dance halls notably have greater social significance as demonstrated by the protest movement over the demolition of Cloudland in Brisbane and more recently in Cairns, the Cairns Yacht Club. No doubt this is because of the pleasant memories people have of such places, particularly as sites for important life events such as

⁸ Criteria for entry in the Register, *Queensland Heritage Act*, 1992.

⁹ R. Powell, "Erasing memory, inventing tradition, rewriting history: planning as a tool of ideology," in B. Shaw & R. Jones (Eds), *Contested Urban Heritage: voices from the periphery*, (Sydney, 1997), p. 85.

meeting future spouses and marriage ceremonies, though more research needs to be done into this aspect of heritage values.

Tourism heritage sites also have associative heritage value as they have been shaped by entrepreneurs important for the development of the region. Aspects of the tourist landscape demonstrate important local and regional associations. Noel Monkman, Vince Vlasoff, Lloyd Griggs and the Hayles family for example are strongly associated with the development of tourism on Green Island. Noel Monkman gained national and international recognition during the 1950s for his pioneering underwater photography techniques which brought the Great Barrier Reef to national and international movie screens. The Hayles Company was instrumental in the development of marine transport infrastructure in the Cairns region, as well as Townsville's. Evidence of early explorer James Venture Mulligan and pastoralist William Atherton being present in the Chillagoe Caves in 1891 remains engraved on the cave walls.

A number of sites also demonstrate a pattern of development in Queensland's history. While evidence is normally looked for in the fabric of a site this can be very scanty in Far Northern Queensland tourism sites such as Green Island and the Chillagoe Caves because of the nature of the attractions and their simple infrastructure. Green Island has historic value because it has been influenced by a phase or pattern in 'seeing' the landscape: an historical trend away from the Romantic to the ecological 'way of seeing.' Despite early examples of scientific

viewpoints such as Saville-Kent's recording of the Great Barrier Reef in the 1890s, 19th century authors and scientists such as Roughley tended to portray the Reef in a Romantic-scientific manner, a genre identified by Rachel Sanderson in her PhD as a mingling of the two prose styles. However it must be noted that most Romantic notions were attached to Reef islands such as Green and particularly Dunk Island as opposed to the Reef itself. The move to an ecological 'way of seeing' the Reef began during the 1930s and gained momentum with the development of viewing technology such as glass-bottom boats in the late 1930s but especially with the development of the Green Island Underwater Observatory in 1954 which gave visitors an unprecedented view of the marine world of the Great Barrier Reef. Complementary attractions on the Island such as Marineland and Noel Monkman's Great Barrier Reef Theatre with their aquaria and turtle, shark, sea snake and crocodile tanks, and Monkman's internationally renowned underwater photography respectively, reinforced this more ecological view of the Great Barrier Reef.

The Chillagoe Caves also demonstrate this change from a Romantic to an ecological view of the landscape. The Caves, possibly more than any other regional attraction save the Barron Falls, were the subject of florid prose and vivid reimaginings. Today, little of the Cave's Romantic antecedents are obvious except for the retention of their original names such as the 'Ballroom,' the 'Madonna Chamber' and the 'Cathedral' which refer to the rock formations from which their fanciful names were derived. Today, tour guides and literature emphasise the Caves' natural, scientific and conservation values.

Demonstrating a similar trend in Queensland's history is the 'Jungle' at Malanda, which from the 1920s to 1960s provided an educative rainforest experience for visitors comprising tree climbing demonstrations by Aborigines, tree climbing kangaroos, guided rainforest walks and education, and demonstrations of Aboriginal material culture. The focus of the attraction was to highlight the unusual aspects of the region's rainforest environment and Aboriginal culture. Consequently only very occasionally were Romantic hints contained in tourism literature for this attraction.

Attractions such as the Green Island Underwater Observatory demonstrate technological innovation in Queensland's past human activity. The Observatory is one of the first of its kind in the world, making an underwater view of the Great Barrier Reef accessible to the general public. It also attracted the attention of scientists and led to the identification of new fish species. The integrity of the structure remains high and as such has significance at a State, regional and local level for its technical achievement. Prior to its construction in 1953, glass bottom boats were the only viable way of viewing the coral.

Definitions

Definitions of a 'tourism cultural landscape' are difficult to locate. By contrast definitions of a 'cultural landscape' abound and are a widely used tool for analysis of human interactions with geographical features. Rapoport believes that these interactions and the choices involved reflect people's values and attitudes.¹⁰ The

¹⁰ A. Rapoport, "Environment and People," in A. Rapoport (Ed), *Australia as Human Setting: approaches to the designed environment*, (Sydney, 1972), p. 6.

concrete expression of these values and attitudes is the cultural landscape. In short, we personalise our landscape. Personalisation of the landscape on a large scale provides richness and complexity in that landscape. The manner in which an individual or a group personalises a landscape is influenced by differences in perception, as well as attitude and values. Perception is the principal mechanism by which people are linked to their environment.¹¹ People perceive their environment through their senses: we see its colour, the shape and texture of its components and its spatial arrangement; we smell it, whether it be the petrol fumes of a city or the salty tang of the beach; we hear its noise or silence; we move through it slowly or easily, depending upon its terrain; we feel its temperature and the movement of the wind along with the texture of components such as stones, grass and sand.¹² These perceptions in turn are influenced by the physical environment one is confronted with, both 'natural' and human-made, and relate to how people act on the environment, how they behave. The weight one allocates to various perceptions of the environment is socially determined which can be broadly generalised as 'is this a good or bad environment?' This is a source of tension within and between disciplines.

Within this perspective definitions of a 'cultural landscape' are not difficult to locate, and are found in a number of disciplines. However it is important to note that the tourism industry in Cairns is largely a cultural construct built on natural attractions therefore definitions of 'cultural landscape' which see it as the product of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 7 – 8.

perceptions are well suited. In a sense, the concept of 'landscape' can be utilised to create an interface between any number of seemingly disparate disciplines or ideas. This is due to the fact of human presence and the need to explain its effects on the landscape and vice versa, and to the advent of new theoretical approaches such as postmodernism. The postmodern rejection of the 'grand narrative,' by definition allows for the emergence, acknowledgment and validation of the 'mini-narrative,' that is:

...stories that explain small practices and local events... [which] are always situational, provisional, contingent, and temporary, making no claim to universality, truth, reason or stability...¹³

The 'mini-narrative' has been very important in examining the development of the 'tourism cultural landscape' of the Cairns region as it has allowed the voices and stories of individuals and individual places to emerge. A number of the individuals who were significant in preserving the rainforest and establishing National Parks around their attractions for example were out of step with their era and viewed as 'different.' The determination of James English to develop the 'Jungle' in Malanda during the 1920s means that today the only significant rainforest landscape in the vicinity of Malanda Township is that owned by the English family. George Curry of Lake Barrine teahouse, concerned about the tree felling around the Lakes, was instrumental in the establishment of a National Park and the development of the tourism landscape in this area. So despite its sometimes nebulous assumptions, postmodernism offers a vehicle towards understanding the complexity of the landscape and allows 'stories' embedded in the landscape to emerge. These

¹³ M. Klages, "Postmodernism," www.colorado.edu/English/ENGL2012KPages/pomo.html.

'stories' also add to the 'contestability' of a landscape. As a consequence the cultural heritage of the Cairns region will be examined partly as individual attractions, but also as an identifiable cultural landscape tied together by common themes.

The definition of 'tourist' is not clear-cut. Modern literature is concerned with defining the 'tourist' as distinct from other travellers. Tourists and other visitors have always travelled for diverse reasons. However Urry's distinction between travellers and tourists, as the differences in perception between the Romantic gaze and those of the collective gaze, is a useful if broad classification.¹⁴ These categories indicate that visitors to the same places may not be seeking the same kind of experience.¹⁵ According to the World Tourism Organisation's more prosaic classification of travellers, visitors are people who travel away from home for business, pleasure, or to visit friends and relatives. Within this category of visitors, people who stay away from home for at least one night are tourists. In popular usage the label 'tourist' is usually reserved for visitors who are some distance away from their home, are visiting for pleasure rather than business, and are distinguished from the people who live there. So those visiting natural environments close to their normal residence are usually seen as recreationists rather than tourists, even if they are staying overnight.¹⁶

¹⁴ D. Herbert, "Heritage as a Literary Place," in D. Herbert (Ed), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London, 1995), p. 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ G. Moscardo, *A Social Science Research Agenda for Ecologically Sustainable Tourism in Reef and Rainforest Areas*, (Cairns, 1997), pp. 7 – 8.

This definition is not particularly useful for this study because the collection of statistical data for tourism is a recent occurrence, so it is impossible to distinguish between the 'travellers' and the 'tourists' historically. In any case, trying to distinguish between them may be a questionable exercise. William Lees for example travelled into the Cairns hinterland in the 1890s to report on the Walsh, Tinaroo and Hodgkinson gold fields, in the context of their "...enormous possibilities..." for investors.¹⁷ Despite his stated utilitarian purpose for travelling he was unable to resist commenting on Chillagoe's limestone bluffs, "...remarkable for their beauty as objects on the landscape..."¹⁸ and the colour and the 'magic' of the caves contained therein.¹⁹ In addition, many of the tourist attractions which make up Cairns' tourism cultural landscape are day attractions only with no associated accommodation.

It is likely, as in other parts of Australia, that the terms 'tourist' and 'traveller' were used interchangeably in the period and without any of the pejorative associations now attached to 'tourist.' Horne believes that by the late 19th century, in New South Wales for example, the term 'tourist' tended to identify:

...the serious traveller - the person who sought to tour regions of natural beauties and who was interested in native plants and animals, geological formations and local culture. In many accounts within a context that continued to emphasise the characteristics of earlier touring - travelling in order to observe the surroundings - the term 'traveller' and 'tourist' continued to be used more or less interchangeably... distinctions [between the two terms] were not intended ... throughout this period numerous editions of the *Railway Guide of New South Wales* ... were prepared for the

¹⁷ W. Lees, *The Goldfields of Queensland: Chillagoe and Herberton Mineral Fields and the Hodgkinson Goldfield*, (Malanda, 2000), preface.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

‘use of tourists, excursionists, and others,’ and its preface explained that it was a guidebook for ‘the traveller in search of the picturesque’...²⁰

Such similarities certainly exist in tourism literature pertaining to Queensland generally and the Cairns region in particular. For example:

...in all Australia there is not a better-known winter rendezvous for tourists; it has no likely rival for those wishing to escape the gloom and wet of May-August in Southern States. The climate is of the healthiest... wide, well-made streets, substantial business premises, a Strand or Esplanade, lined with wide shade trees, overlooking the Bay, pleasant parks and specially constructed theatres – Cairns has everything for travellers’ comfort...²¹

For the purposes of this study no attempt is made to distinguish between or assign motives for, or value to, travel by tourists or travellers. What these people saw and how they perceived is of more interest to this study than why they travelled. It is important to note however that the nature of travel did change during this period. This was due to factors such as a change from travel for exploration of a new land with settlement and economic exploitation in mind, to travel in the sense of touring to observe and wonder as seen in Britain and Europe. Travel also changed with improvements in communications and transport, particularly the introduction of trains and greater availability of increasingly comprehensive guide books, travel brochures and maps.²²

The idea of ‘destination’ is central to this study of cultural landscapes. Superficially, a ‘destination’ is unproblematic in that much of tourism research has focused on the

²⁰ J. Home, 1995, “Favourite Resorts: Aspects of tourist travel in nineteenth century New South Wales,” unpublished PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, pp. 268 – 269.

²¹ Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB), *North Queensland: the holiday land*, (Brisbane, 1930), p. 11.

²² J. Home, “Favourite Resorts,” p. 272.

use of places for tourism. However, if one views destinations as Squires does, as not just being geographic places but as also:

...social constructions whose meanings and values are negotiated and redefined by diverse people, and mediated by factors often related only tangentially to a particular tourist setting...²³

then a more multi-layered view of a destination can be obtained. Following a theoretical framework put forward by Paasi (1986) based on his theory of the institutionalisation of regions, Saarinen proposes that a destination "...represents a specific historical and cultural phase in society and is best understood through this temporal and social context..."²⁴ This concept will be used to examine the changes over time in the Cairns region from an undeveloped and isolated, yet paradisiacal and exotic jungle and island experience in the 1890s and early 1900s, to a civilised 'tropical wonderland' and ecological experience after World War Two. A regional framework such as Paasi's is important to this study because it allows 'attractions' or 'places' to be examined both individually and collectively as a 'regional cultural landscape.' Importantly Paasi's theory allows a 'discourse of region' to emerge, through which ideas of image and myth making and authenticity are examined.

Image and myth are important aspects of this study. The images produced of the attractions of the Cairns tourism cultural landscape and the region itself are integral in examining and analysing this landscape. This was as much a imagined landscape as it was a physical landscape as embedded within these images were myths. Definitions of image are diverse but most suggest that it has both cognitive and

²³ S. Squire, "Rewriting languages of geography and tourism: cultural discourses of destinations, gender and tourism history in the Canadian Rockies," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2001), pp. 82 – 83.

²⁴ J. Saarinen, "Social construction of tourist destinations," p. 154.

affective components. It is not just a painting, photo or illustration. Indeed, Baloglu and Brinberg see that image is:

...the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that people have of a place or destination; an overall impression with some emotional content; [and] an expression of knowledge, impressions, prejudice, imaginations, and emotional thoughts an individual has of a specific object or place...²⁵

Myths are narratives which resonate across time and space. They can, according to Cosgrove, shape and be shaped by physical and mental landscapes and are represented in words, both spoken and written, painting, theatre and film.²⁶ The Cairns region had a number of myths attached to it due to its location in the 'exotic' tropics, its unusual vegetation and ethnic mix and the proximity of the Great Barrier Reef and Banfield's Romantic tropic-isle, Dunk Island. Tourism narratives and images were produced which reinforced some of the myths regarding tropical locations, and these will be examined in this study.

Findings

Five major findings have emerged from this thesis. Briefly stated these are: that tourism in the Cairns region was based on natural attractions from its inception; images of the attractions and the cultural landscape as a whole developed in response to the prevailing aesthetic: Romantic, picturesque, exotic and increasingly after 1930, scientific and ecological; ideas of 'authenticity' when applied to tourism attractions becomes contestable because of these shifting images; tourism infrastructure based on these natural attractions was simple and basic in contrast to

²⁵ S. Baloglu & D. Brinberg, "Affective Images of Tourism Destinations," *Journal of Travel Research*, 1997, vol. xxxv, no. 4, p. 11.

²⁶ D. Cosgrove, "Landscapes and Myths, Gods and Humans," in B. Bender (Ed), *Landscape: politics and perspectives*, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 281 – 282.

the infrastructure serving general economic development; and attractions were heavily dependent upon infrastructure developed to serve mining and agriculture in the hinterland, industries which paradoxically threatened the natural values on which the tourist attractions were based.

Tourism in Cairns has always been based on nature. Despite prevailing notions during the 19th century that Australia generally was burdened by its lack of history and monuments,²⁷ the Cairns region had a plethora of sights which satisfied the Romantic idea of nature. The Chillagoe Caves were seen as the realm of pixies and fairies while the limestone bluffs were described by some as being created by supernatural or malevolent forces. The region had many waterfalls which were highly expressive of the Romantic ideal and bounded as they were by unusual tropical vegetation they attracted poetic descriptions, and in the case of the Barron Falls, became one of Queensland's most significant early tourist attractions. The islands of the Great Barrier Reef were enormously evocative particularly Dunk Island due to its association with Banfield and the Romantic idea of the 'tropic-isle.' This did much to add to the perception of the Cairns region as an 'exotic' part of the world.

During the 19th century 'nature,' under the influence of the Romantic Movement, was frequently described in awestruck terms and coupled with the Creator. Despite the late application of Romantic imagery to the Cairns region, many a florid and

²⁷ Andrew Garran cited by T. Hughes-d'Aeth, in "Pretty as a picture: Australia and the imperial picturesque," *Journal of Australian Studies*, 1997, no. 53, pp. 101 – 102.

elaborate description was written for its attractions, most notably the Barron Falls, Chillagoe Caves, the 'jungle,' and lesser waterfalls. This was partly due to the region being located in the tropical zone. Tropical landscapes had been extensively portrayed in literature, travel literature, art and photographs since the 18th century when Northern European exploration and colonisation of the tropics, including scientific description, emerged. These were the site of many myths and fantasies. Europeans' love affair with the Pacific islands led to the idea of the 'tropical exotic' being attached to Cairns, particularly its islands and its mix of indigenous, European and Asian cultures. Romantic and picturesque images developed from European art and literature, and travellers sought them in the landscape. By the end of the 19th century the picturesque, that which was aesthetically pleasing, included wild nature, agricultural, rural and urban scenes, indigenous people, and the exotic and unusual. It was a 'way of seeing' the world and tended to value 'timeless' scenes.²⁸

'Ways of seeing' nature began to change in the 1930s due to the ascendancy of the scientific paradigm. There was less room in the popular imagination, literature and art for the weird, the eerie, and the mysterious, or for transcendental emotional reactions. The influence of environmentalists and ecologists had by the 1970s recategorised the jungle as 'rainforest' thereby confounding the older, ambivalent ideas of jungle as terrifying, dangerous and adventurous. Now rainforest is rare and precious, corralled safely off in patches such as national parks. The Great Barrier Reef too was recast during the 1930s. Australia's 'Grand Canal' had until this time

²⁸ T. Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation: the story of the picturesque atlas of Australasia, 1866 – 1888*, (Melbourne, 2001), p. 41.

played second fiddle to the 'Isles of Romance,' such as Dunk Island, and had been seen largely in terms of its commercial value. It was now viewed as a "...vast and entrancing field for investigation..."²⁹ The development of imagery associated with the Great Barrier Reef began to occur as viewing technology such as glass bottom boats and the Green Island Observatory developed. As noted earlier, the Chillagoe Caves, while retaining Romantic names such as the 'Cathedral,' the 'Ballroom,' and the 'Madonna,' now emphasised information on their geology, fauna and fossil remains.

Although infrastructure serving these attractions was substantial, that of the tourism industry itself was not. Of that erected, little remains for posterity. The only obvious exceptions to this within the study area are the Spanish fantasy castle at Paronella Park, the Lake Barrine Tearooms and Green Island Underwater Observatory. More typical constructions, usually made with locally available timber and with thatched roofs, include the tea rooms and shelter shed at 'Fairylane,' the refreshment room set amongst the fan palms at the 'Maze,' and the circular huts built around coconut trees for accommodation and refreshments at Browns Bay. These were insubstantial constructions less able to withstand the moist conditions of a rainforest and seaside environment, and consequently did not survive to form part of the tourism cultural landscape today. The more substantial building erected at Lake Barrine in 1928 was the result of George Curry's dream for a sporting complex catering for swimming, rowing, sailing and tennis, and a large recreation

²⁹ 'Viator,' "The Great Barrier Reef: the world's greatest coral banks," *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine*, January 1932, vol. 5, no. 57, pp. 76 – 77.

hall on the edge of the lake. His aim was to create a community rallying point. As a result, the architecture of the surviving infrastructure here is standard for northern communities at that time. It is the lakeside setting that provides the Romantic image making it an enduring tourist attraction, although the interwar architectural touches give the building a pleasantly old-fashioned air. The only self-consciously Romantic structure of any substance was José Paronella's Spanish castle in the rainforest near Innisfail, which also played on the image of the 'paradise garden.'

As a consequence, the overarching hypothesis of this thesis is that image was more important in the creation of the tourism cultural landscape than the places visitors came to see. The Cairns region consists of a number of natural attractions which were singled out for attention. Over time these emerged and declined according to popular taste. In the 19th and early 20th centuries people sought out scenery which reflected notions of Romantic, picturesque, exotic and tropical landscapes. Images reflecting these ideas were produced as the tourism cultural landscape was progressively commodified and rearranged to fit ideas of 'authenticity' and 'reality.'³⁰ This concern with 'reality' is not a new one. Sontag points to Feuerbach's concern with people's preference for the image rather than the 'real thing' along with their awareness of the difference in the 1840s, around the time of the camera's invention.³¹

³⁰ R. Powell, "Erasing memory," p. 86.

³¹ S. Sontag, *On Photography*, (New York, 1977), p. 153.

Romantic, picturesque and exotic tropical landscapes included the waterfalls of the Atherton Tableland, the beach resort and zoo at Browns Bay, 'Fairylane Tea Gardens' near Kuranda, the 'Maze,' also near Kuranda, the 'Jungle' at Malanda, and the Chillagoe Caves. The image of the region began to change in the 1930s as the scientific or ecological 'way of seeing' began to emerge. Some attractions such as the 'Jungle' at Malanda were able to accommodate this change in perception and survived into the 1980s. Others such as 'Fairylane' and the 'Maze' could not and by the 1960s were no longer appearing on tourism itineraries. New attractions also rose to satisfy the ecological paradigm such as the Green Island Underwater Observatory, a technologically advanced but utilitarian structure. Marineland Melanesia is an odd combination of the ecological, expressed in fish, crocodile and turtle tanks, and the tropical exotic of its Melanesian artifacts.

The development of tourism in the Cairns region was carried on the back of infrastructure created for other economic activities. Cairns was established in 1876 as a port for mining fields in its hinterland such as the Hodgkinson, and later Chillagoe, the Etheridge and Herberton. In the 1880s and early 1890s sugar and banana growing began on the coast, sugar mills were built, and railways were constructed into the Cairns hinterland to transport minerals to the port. The railways benefited the regional economy enormously, accelerating settlement of the Atherton Tableland, in particular after 1900. Timber-getters and small farmers cleared much of the rainforest there, replacing it with crops and dairy cattle. Paradoxically, the accelerated economic development brought about by the railway altered irrevocably

the natural attractions that people were travelling to view, while at the same time better transport and communications and larger towns produced other benefits to tourism and furthered economic development of tourist attractions.

The representation or cultural construction of the tourist attractions in the Cairns region has changed in the past 100 years in accordance with changing tastes, which makes the idea of 'authenticity' in tourism somewhat problematic. Following MacCannell, tourists can never realise the 'authentic other' they are seeking because it is constantly staged through the process of creating representations for tourists.³² Promotional literature showcased the region in whatever aesthetic was popular at the time. Yet while the language changed, and attention shifted from one aspect of the natural environment to another, the built tourism landscape reflected little of these shifts until after World War II. The development of the tourism cultural landscape of Cairns was driven by the production of texts and images that portrayed Cairns as a site of exotic physical beauty, safely situated within a modern prosperous economy based on agriculture and mining, despite the inherent conflict between these two images. Although depicted in different language, the myths and expectations attached by the tourism industry to tropical Cairns continue to be as influential and evocative as ever. Today we are not moved to save or condemn assaults on the 'picturesque,' but rather the 'environment.'³³ This reclassification and re-imagining

³² E. Cohen, "Traditions in the qualitative sociology of tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1988, vol. 15, p. 41.

³³ C. Jordan, *Picturesque Pursuits: colonial women artists and the amateur tradition*, (Melbourne, 2005), p. 168.

is an essential process of tourism, which leads one to question where the 'authentic' tourist experience really lives.

As noted by Davidson and Spearitt, regional and local differences in holidaying patterns were apparent early in Australia's development,³⁴ but the development of tourism in the Cairns region was similar to that of the rest of the country despite its tropical location. People visited in search of Romantic and aesthetically pleasing scenery and experiences as they did elsewhere. However, due to the region's late settlement, tourism did not begin to gain pace until the 1890s, meaning that some popular themes such as travel for health, the voyage along the coast aside, remained underdeveloped. This coupled with poor roads and geographic isolation resulted in the region's only 'spa centre,' Innot Hot Springs, remaining only a local attraction. Following the general belief in the health benefits of sea air, seaside resorts developed but were presented in an understated manner in the tourism literature. The region was rough and rustic enough for much of the tourism to be classified as 'adventure tourism' but individual attractions offered more specific adventures such as climbing down the Barron Falls and exploring the Chillagoe Caves.

Historical information for this study is drawn from the Queensland State Archives in Brisbane, particularly the Department of Railways and Land Department files, the John Oxley Library in Brisbane, the Cairns Historical Society, the Eacham Historical Society, the resources of James Cook University, and other collections.

³⁴ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business: tourism in Australia since 1870*, (Melbourne, 2000), p. xxix.

Interviews with small number of tourist operators were undertaken. Extensive use was made of the newspapers and magazines of the day. An examination of the physical record of a number of destinations was made including Chillagoe Caves, Malanda Falls, Millaa Millaa Falls, the 'Jungle' near Malanda, the Green Island Underwater Observatory and Marineland Melanesia. These sites are presented in case studies.

Methodologically, tourism history is problematic. The manner in which historical records have been classified and collected over time presents difficulties in analysis and interpretation. Statistical records need to be analysed with care as they were collected for different purposes. As noted earlier, Railway department records often made no distinction between tourists and other travellers. The Department started providing details of the number of tourists arriving in Cairns in 1931³⁵ but these figures still need to be treated with caution as they reflect only the numbers of people who made their travel arrangements through the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. Importantly for this study, much of the tourism ephemera such as brochures and pamphlets which would have been useful in analysing early perceptions of the Cairns area was less likely to survive and be collected.

³⁵ See Table 19, in "Report of the Commissioner of Railways, for 12 months ended 30 June 1931." *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1931, vol. 2, p. 908.

Tourist guide books were an important source of information along with a number of literary sources of the era; the writers of both were often the same.³⁶ As well as showing the images used to attract tourists, these provide the pragmatic detail of itineraries, costs and accommodation. Importantly for this study, guidebooks, and other means of mass communication such as magazines, novels, local and national newspapers, photographs, postcards, poems, cartoons and tourist guide maps provide clear indications of not only what the tourist experienced, but more importantly how the destination has been shaped over time. Textual analysis of this material in juxtaposition with archival data has allowed insights into how changing tastes were reflected in changing destination choices or how the destination's description was modified to accommodate these changes.

The role of the travel writer in relation to creating and perpetuating the image and mythology surrounding a destination was significant. The travel book and travelogue are essentially the precursors to the guide book and the tourist brochure. The early travel book tended to serve a number of roles, its information pertinent to attracting investment, settlers and tourists, the latter being the least important. The guide book of today exists, as Dann suggests:

...to rationalise and bring together the disparities of the tourism infrastructure, to help, advise and warn tourists, to steer them through the morass of alien lifeways... it is factual...³⁷

³⁶ For example C.B. Christesen: *The Troubled Eyes of Women*, (St. Lucia, 1990): a collection of stories outlining a boy's life in tropical Queensland, Melbourne and Europe; and *Queensland Journey: official guide of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau*, circa 1935.

³⁷ G. Dann, "Writing out the tourist in space and time," *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1999, p. 163.

Its predecessor, the travel book, which is used extensively in this study, tends to be based on the personal experience of the author, is sustained by a narrative, and exploits fiction.³⁸ Prior to the 1950s the travel book tended to be peppered with quotations from poets or the author's own poems. After the 1950s with the ascent of the scientific paradigm this was seen less frequently.

The physical remains of a number of tourism sites within the Cairns region were recorded in varying levels of detail, including Millaa Millaa Falls, Malanda Falls, Chillagoe Caves, Marineland Melanesia and the Green Island Underwater Observatory. These sites were recorded with a view to providing an accurate description of each and a record of the presence and condition of artifacts. The most extensive site recording was carried out at Millaa Millaa and Malanda Falls where undergraduate students assisted in constructing a scale plan, a photographic record and a longitudinal profile using an automatic level. The remaining sites were recorded through a description of their physical layout, their state of preservation, any damage to the site, and a photographic record. These have been used to provide the physical context for the case histories in Chapters Nine and Eleven.

This study uses some of the ideas outlined in the literature on tourism, image, authenticity, cultural landscapes and nature and seeks to make a contribution to that area of study, exploring tourism related representations of the cultural landscape, with an emphasis on less developed landscapes than urban. There are a number of theoretical frameworks which examine definitions of tourist destinations and the

³⁸ *Ibid.*

stages of tourist industry development, and the emergence of regions and regional identity. Those of Paasi, discussed earlier, Savage, Stepan and MacCannell in particular have been of use in this study. These are outlined below but explained in more detail in the literature review.

This study is largely concerned with the analysis of images and the messages they contained about the Cairns region for the traveller. Victor Savage's study of the development of Western perceptions of Nature and landscape in Southeast Asia provided a useful framework for analysing the perceptions and representations of Cairns and its hinterland. He established various themes identified with Western cognition of nature and landscape with emphasis particularly

... on the existential lived-in environment, not the *real* environment, and the subjective cognition of nature and landscape... [in an effort] to identify the varying components of the Western travellers' *behavioural* environment, a product of existential experiences and subjective cognition...³⁹

Ashworth's ideas enhance our understanding of the relationship between a traveller's behaviour and his or her understanding of the messages contained within the image. Images are selected, packaged and interpreted by the tourism industry to create exciting and evocative tourism products and places. As such according to Ashworth, the interpretation, not the resource, is literally the product.⁴⁰ The myths and fantasies embedded in the images are often more powerful and marketable than reality. While travellers' perceptions were affected by an image, they too were able

³⁹ V. Savage, *Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore, 1984), p. 3.

⁴⁰ Ashworth, cited by T. Chang & S. Huang, "New Asia – Singapore: a concoction of tourism, place and image," in C. Cartier & A. Lew (Eds), *Seductions of Place: geographical perspectives on globalisation and touristed landscapes*, (New York, 2005), p. 260.

to affect the image being portrayed by shaping perceptions of themselves and others through notions such as ‘tropical nature,’ ‘wilderness’ and ‘Paradise,’ all part of the aesthetic context of their times. The Romantic ‘way of seeing’ the environment, dominant in Cairns prior to the 1930s, was significant in influencing the ways in which travellers and others formed relationships with the environment. In a sense Romanticism began the tourist industry in the region; it could almost be said it *was* the industry. These ideas have been applied to Cairns attractions, particularly in the earlier period before the Romantic images were supplanted by a more ecological viewpoint. This relationship is most clearly seen in the writings of the period as they sought to evoke an emotional response to the tropical landscape of the Cairns region. Lines from Romantic poets such as Tennyson were sometimes used to suggest the plethora of Romantic attractions such as the Barron Falls:

...A land of streams.
Some like downward smoke
slow drooping veils of thinnest lawn did go;
and some through wavering lights and shadows broke,
rolling a slumberous sheet of foam below...⁴¹

One of these images was ‘tropical nature.’ Stepan identifies ‘tropical nature’ as a different kind of nature, landscape or place. Using the historical themes of tropical places, peoples and diseases she seeks to:

...trace, through selected moments, episodes and, above all, visual images, some of the ways in which tropical nature has been imagined, produced and interpreted in modern history...⁴²

⁴¹ “The Cairns District: rich agricultural land, magnificent scenery,” *Cummins & Campbell’s Monthly Magazine*, March 1935, vol. 5, no. 95, p. 39.

⁴² N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, (London, 2001), p. 13.

Stepan provides a useful fusion of nature and landscape, a framework of 'tropical nature' which is used in to analyse the jungle of the Cairns region as a historical and cultural construction, an idea that early settlers and travellers brought with them, rather than something quite separate from culture.

As already noted, the idea of 'authenticity' in representations of Cairns is a component of this study. It is an idea which has stimulated much debate amongst commentators because of its associations with perception and context, both highly subjective in nature. Powell alerts us to the progressive rearrangement and commodification of the tourism cultural landscape to fit ideas of 'authenticity' and 'reality'.⁴³

The debate about 'authenticity' is seen to have begun with Boorstin's analysis of the pseudo-event whereby tourists find pleasure in contrived attractions, blithely disregarding the 'real' world. Over time this produces self-perpetuating images and a system of illusion,⁴⁴ whereby the created attraction, not the 'real' place it was developed on, becomes the 'authentic' experience. MacCannell challenged Boorstin's 'pseudo-event' maintaining that the modern tourist is like a pilgrim seeking to view the 'real lives' of others. He suggested that there are levels of 'authenticity' and that the tourist industry has developed a level of 'staged authenticity' for tourists in recognition of tourists' desire for the authentic.⁴⁵ This

⁴³ R. Powell, "Erasing Memory," p. 97.

⁴⁴ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," in C. Cooper (Ed), *Classic Reviews of Tourism*, (Sydney, 2003), p. 10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

phenomenon does not appear to have emerged in Cairns until the 1990s when Skyrail, a rainforest cableway over World Heritage Rainforest and Tjapukai, a cultural park showcasing the history, cultural beliefs and dances of the Tjapukai people, were developed.

Chapter One expands on these ideas and others in the scholarly literature on tourism, and locates the thesis in relation to this literature. Chapter Two discusses the history of tourism in Australia and North Queensland. Tourism has been very much a domestic industry until recently due to the country's isolation from Europe and North America. This meant that the market was democratic rather than elitist, leading to low-key infrastructure and an informal atmosphere. Health resort tourism was also present given the region's mountain hinterland and beaches, and one spa.

Chapters Three and Four follow the development of the regional tourist industry. This includes the provision of tourist infrastructure such as transport and special arrangements such as cruises and tourist organisations. It examines the role of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau and local promotion efforts in influencing the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region respectively

In Chapter Five the ideas which influenced the way in which the cultural landscape was viewed are examined: ideas such as European Romanticism, the 'tropical paradise,' the Eden-like unspoilt wilderness. Examples will be drawn from the travel and tourism literature throughout the period. This chapter will highlight the

tensions manifested in the landscape when Eurocentric perceptions of the landscape were imposed upon a quite different environment, tensions and perceptions which have persisted through time. The ideas of Paradise, Eden and the wilderness in tourism literature are dominant thanks to their long history in the Christian tradition. These ideas are explored in this study as they supplied adjectives which were frequently invoked in reference to the 'natural' landscapes of Cairns, the rainforest and the Great Barrier Reef. Despite the now predominant ecological 'way of seeing' the landscape, images and literature still evoke the Edenic idea of 'paradise lost' through the loss of pristine environment.⁴⁶

Chapter Six examines ideas shaping perception of the jungle throughout the period, an enduring and important element in the tourism cultural landscape of Cairns. Again, the analysis will be applied to travel and tourism literature produced in the region. The jungle invoked a variety of responses in early travellers including curiosity, fascination, delight, melancholy and terror due to its complete contrast with temperate gardens and forests. Savage's broad categorisation of aesthetic responses to the jungle in South East Asia is used to identify similar responses to the jungle in the Cairns region. Travellers often expected jungle to be colourful and full of grotesquely fantastic vegetation. The tropical gardens of Cairns reinforced this view, as they conformed to preconceived ideas of what 'tropical nature' should look like, ideas furnished by Humboldt, Darwin, explorers, travel and nature writers and others. The 'real' jungle, the site of the exotic, and myth and fantasy, in literature

⁴⁶ C. Slater, "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative," in W. Cronon (Ed), *Uncommon Ground: rethinking the human place in nature*, (New York, 1996), p. 241.

and art was often somewhat disappointing, or at least different from what was expected, largely due to the lack of colourful plants.

Chapter Seven examines and analyses the way in which images of the region's landscape were shaped through representations by artists. Artists were among some of the earliest travellers to the Cairns region and included Ellis Rowan, Julian Ashton, Tom Roberts, Donald Thistlethwayte and Leila McIlwaine. This northern tropical landscape was regarded as quite peculiar in Australia, much removed from the 'bush' mythology and nationalist imagery of the rest of the country, and was not incorporated into the national consciousness.⁴⁷ As a result artists created an image of the tropics as different, exciting and exotic, helping to create and reinforce the imagery of the tourist literature.

By the end of the 19th century rainforests became less fashionable in paintings as Eucalypts and Acacias became icons of nationalism. Despite this trend, the rainforest continued to have popular appeal in art and literature until well into the 20th century. The tropical northern landscapes with their exotic people, vegetation and associations with Gauguin's South Sea images influenced increasing numbers of artists to travel north after World War I. The casual lifestyle and old fashioned tin and timber architecture appealed to the modernists, as did the exotic Barrier Reef islands, especially Dunk, Bedarra and Timana islands. The association of Banfield,

⁴⁷ R. Searle, "Artists in Tropical Queensland: an historical survey of artists in North Queensland," unpublished Master of Letters of Museum Studies, James Cook University, Townsville, 1993, p. 10.

the 'Beachcomber' of the popular early 20th century series of books, with Dunk Island added to the appeal of the region.

Chapter Eight looks at the representations of the region's landscape by photographers. A number of commercial photographer's studios were located in Cairns by 1900. By this time photography had come into its own and had largely replaced hand drawings for illustration purposes. Photography was a boon for the tourism industry. State governments quickly realised its potential and commissioned photographers to take images that were displayed in trains and stations, and guide books. A few images dominate early representations of the Cairns region: the Barron Falls and the unusual vegetation, particularly the giant Strangler Fig trees. Ultimately however the landscapes that were 'created' for the tourism industry and appeared in postcards and photographs were selected by publishers far removed from Cairns.

Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven are case studies of individual attractions in which the themes covered in previous chapters are traced. The images promoted by the industry often contrast noticeably with the more prosaic histories of local use, and the often basic infrastructure developed at each site. This infrastructure which now makes up the cultural heritage of the tourism history in the Cairns region is described, along with any traces of earlier infrastructure.

In conclusion, there are many aspects of the history of tourism in the region not covered in this study. An economic analysis of the industry through time has not been attempted. Nor has the study looked at the industry from the point of view of the end users, which would require a substantial oral history program and access to private collections of letters, diaries, holiday snaps and reminiscences. The aim of this study is rather to analyse and examine the cultural tourism landscape of the Cairns region through the images and texts produced about it. This approach which acknowledges the historical and social aspects of a destination brings into sharp relief the power of an image to develop, maintain, enhance and perpetuate a 'destination' built around 'nature.'

CHAPTER ONE: Literature Review

The tourism landscape of Australia in general and the Cairns and hinterland area in particular is a product of many different strands of history, both before and after European settlement in 1788. As an industry tourism is the subject of economic history but the values, ideas and ideologies of societies shape it to a far more noticeable degree than most industries. This is largely because the tourism industry is providing a leisure product and is shaping and satisfying tourists' desires and fantasies, expectations which are often elaborately outlined in the travel literature. Attempting to analyse the tourism cultural landscape is, therefore, a complex undertaking. The notion of the tourism landscape is underpinned by perceptions of, attitudes toward and meanings associated with a 'destination,' 'places' or 'attractions' within that destination. All of these factors are subject to various interpretations across a number of disciplines including cultural heritage, history, tourism, anthropology, environmental studies, psychology and geography.

The cultural landscape

The origins of the concept of landscape in a geographical sense lie in the works of nineteenth century geographers who applied and expanded the term '*landschaft*,' defined as landscape, to a region.¹ Cosgrove and Daniels see that over the years a comprehensive meaning of *landschaft* emerged viewing the "... landscape as a cultural symbol, a pictorial way of representing, structuring and symbolising surroundings ..."² The true

¹ J. Smith & K. Foote, "How the World Looks: introduction," in K. Foote, P. Hugill, K. Matherson & J. Smith (Eds), *Rereading Cultural Geography*, (Austin, 1994), p. 30.

² Cosgrove & Daniels, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 30.

origins of the concept, however, are Dutch. Prior to the sixteenth century, the concept was transplanted to Britain where it became associated with the world of art and the term was later applied geographically. According to Tuan, it described 'common places' as "...a collection of farms or fenced fields, sometimes a small domain or administrative unit..."³ Hence the origins of the confusion surrounding just what a landscape is and the vastly different perceptions held of it.

Salter views the cultural landscape as "... the document society has created through the often discordant use of systems of technology, aesthetics, economics, and sometimes even whimsy..."⁴ Writing from the viewpoint of cultural geography as 'discovery,' Salter seeks to capture the 'power' of the landscape and consequently the 'power' of his discipline, through the 'discovery' of patterns,⁵ systems⁶ and human-environmental interactions that characterise human effort. This reading of the cultural landscape, as the primary document, allows for analysis of the landscape so that one is able to determine how it has been shaped over the millennia and is remade daily through the decisions of the people occupying the landscape.⁷

³ Y. Tuan, *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values*, (New Jersey, 1974), p. 133.

⁴ C. Salter, "Cultural Geography as Discovery," in K. Foote, P. Hugill, K. Matherson & J. Smith (Eds), *Rereading Cultural Geography*, (Austin, 1994), p. 430.

⁵ Patterns are an imposition of order in both the natural and the cultural world. They represent arrangements in climate, land use, population distribution, or attitudes that help to give geographic meaning to the landscape. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

⁶ Systems are the predictable and often-predictable ways in which changes are introduced to the landscape. There are systematic forces, which are perceived in human migration, environmental perception, land use and other cultural phenomena. Determining the systems, both natural and cultural, that operate in a given landscape is another example of 'discovery' in geography or reading of the primary document. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Central to reading the cultural landscape according to Salter is the theme of movement. Whether it is people, information or crops moving across the landscape, there is inherent in this theme a process of change underway:

... the force of such change not only manifests itself in the way the affected landscapes appear but also causes people to think, to consider something new even while they re-evaluate something traditional...⁸

When one examines human-environmental interactions one is looking at the dynamics of landscape change. Salter sees that when seeking to understand the cultural landscape this concern for human-environmental interaction is absolutely essential: Why have we made changes to a given landscape? Is the drive to remake a landscape in the image of human design basic to the human being itself? For Salter, one must ask and answer questions such as these when reading the cultural landscape because it is the interaction between humans and their environment that we are seeking to understand.⁹

Influential geographers such as Carl Sauer saw the cultural landscape in a similar way, as being "... fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result..."¹⁰ Thus, according to Sauer the cultural landscape is culturally determined, although he does concede that "...there remains an aspect of meaning in landscape which lies 'beyond science,' the understanding of which cannot be reduced to formal processes..."¹¹ The work of Sauer and the Berkeley School was influential in shaping the way in which we view the landscape. Their efforts were largely directed toward rejecting environmental

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹⁰ Cited by E. Hirsch, "Landscape: between place and space," in E. Hirsch & M. O'Hanlon (Eds), *The Anthropology of Landscape: perspectives on place and space*, (Oxford, 1995), p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

determinism.¹² Sauer was influential in establishing a taxonomic structure, through laws and principles of classification, and focusing the sub-discipline of cultural geography on the theme of cultural landscape.¹³ Sauer, with his emphasis on preindustrial societies, searched for universal processes in human spatial behaviour, particularly through the process of diffusionism.¹⁴ Diffusion was fundamental in explaining the process by which human phenomena became distributed through space. Consequently, traits such as agricultural and economic production, trading patterns, kinship systems and language were identified.¹⁵ Succeeding generations of geographers began to examine any trait considered distinctive to a group or society's way of life: building types, construction, agricultural and cropping methods, and food types for example. Recent commentators such as Robertson and Richards acknowledge Sauer's 1925 definition of landscape as one of the most influential:

...a land shape, in which the shaping is by no means though of as simply physical ... an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural...¹⁶

Sauer was responsible for a shift in perspective from viewing events in the microscale to incorporating them into a macroscale view;¹⁷ from this developed the concept of region. Sauer's concept of the 'region' never acquired the explanatory power of environmental

¹² P. Hugill & K. Foote, "Rereading Cultural Geography," in K. Foote, P. Hugill, K. Matherson & J. Smith (Eds), *Rereading Cultural Geography*, (Austin, 1994), p. 11. Environmental determinism is the doctrine that the environment, particularly the physical environment, is the determining factor in human activity. B. Goodall, *Dictionary of Human Geography*, (Victoria, 1987), p. 155.

¹³ P. Hugill & K. Foote, "Rereading Cultural Geography," p. 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Diffusion is the spread or movement of phenomenon such as people, settlements, innovations, crops and diseases over space and through time. B. Goodall, *Dictionary of Human Geography*, p. 126.

¹⁵ J. Smith & K. Foote, "How the World Looks," p. 28.

¹⁶ I. Robertson & P. Richards, "Introduction," in I. Robertson & P. Richards (Eds), *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, (London, 2003), p. 2.

¹⁷ P. Hugill & K. Foote, "Rereading Cultural Geography," p. 31.

determinism essentially because it viewed the landscape at ground level,¹⁸ that is, one dimensionally. The macroscale level was challenged in the 1930s as the social sciences reacted to the Great Depression.¹⁹ This was resisted by geographers and anthropologists but the influence of economic geography and writings of von Thunen and Christaller led to a quantitative revolution.²⁰ With this change in perspective came a change in the manner in which data was analysed and Sauer's influence waned.

The succeeding generation of cultural geographers had to define their interests in contrast to prevailing notions of geography as a positivist science. Commentators such as Wagner and Mikesell led the way in evolutionary thinking in the sub-discipline with their focus on the theme of 'cultural landscape'.²¹ Taxonomy became paramount with culture being used primarily as a classifying schema, with the aim of dividing people into defined groups and classifying space into 'culture areas'.²² Cultural geographers concentrated on patterns on the land; cultural and social processes were secondary even when they had a direct impact on the landscape.²³ According to Richardson, one of the succeeding generation of cultural geographers, this focus on patterns occurs at the expense of process, that is, "... how places become inscribed, how the cultural landscape emerges..."²⁴ It is people who inscribe places, and as people, we are subject to natural

¹⁸This was at odds with cultural geography's view of the world from two perspectives: from near the ground and from the air, which is the view of those who draw maps. Sauer's emphasis on the 'ground level' view created controversy with some arguing that to view the landscape in such a manner was more in keeping with a landscape painter. J. Smith & K. Foote, "How the World Looks," pp. 28 – 30.

¹⁹P. Hugill & K. Foote, "Rereading Cultural Geography," p. 13.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²²J. Duncan, "After the Civil War: reconstructing cultural geography as hererotopia," in K. Foote, P. Hugill, K. Matherson & J. Smith (Eds), *Rereading Cultural Geography*, (Austin, 1994), p. 403.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴M. Richardson, "Looking at a world that speaks," in K. Foote, P. Hugill, K. Matherson & J. Smith (Eds), *Rereading Cultural Geography*, (Austin, 1994), p. 161.

and social forces. Richardson sees that as a result, the people who inscribe place "... do so shadowed by the continuing presence of the past and within the swirl of contemporary events..."²⁵ A pattern on the land by contrast is the study of cultural distributions in time and space. The new generation of cultural geographers saw this focus as prescriptive and detrimental to the analysis and subsequent perception of a 'cultural landscape.'

In addition to the prescriptive nature of quantitative research methods and implicit in geographical literature is the lack of contributions by historians to the study of cultural landscapes until recent times.²⁶ Consequently context, richness and depth are lacking. Claims of ahistorical approaches in geographical literature are not explicit. In fact according to Duncan commentators such as Wagner and Mikesell claim that the distribution of objects into 'culture areas' is considered important in order to ascertain

... the origin in time and place of given cultural features; the routes, times and manner of their dissemination; the distribution of former culture areas; and the character of former cultural landscapes...²⁷

What is sharply illustrated by this is the preoccupation of cultural geographers with classifying and numerating. This is valuable to any analysis of cultural landscape for practical reasons such as the fact that landscapes cannot be studied in totalities. However, a study such as this thesis which utilises the historical approach to examine and analyse a landscape helps to satisfy the concerns raised by Duncan.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

²⁶ J. Duncan, "After the Civil War," p. 403.

²⁷ Cited by *Ibid.*

In recent years attention has been paid by cultural geographers to the idea of the symbolic landscape. The symbolic landscape approach differs most markedly from traditional approaches, particularly regarding the question of subject/object, with the symbolic viewpoint positing that the world cannot be viewed objectively, indeed we can only perceive, experience and understand it subjectively.²⁸ As a result of this subjective understanding of the landscape, all landscapes, 'real' or imagined, are seen as representations. This inclusive understanding of what constitutes a landscape extends our symbolic understanding and allows us to include landscapes expressed in music, literature, art and on cinema and television screens, and to identify the political dimensions inherent in any landscape. As Crumley suggests,

... [this] is the view, initiated, amongst others, by Raymond Williams, that all landscapes are cultural products ... 'Nature with its various representations ... became a supreme social value [during the period 1740 – 1860] and was called upon to clarify and justify social change.' Following and adapting these ideas, we can view later representations of landscape in political terms ... [we can] trace relations in power and the conditions of labour ... [we can view a landscape as a] created landscape that can be understood in terms of the various social and economic arrangements existing in particular places and times ... as a palimpsest ... [and by the 1980s] the view that landscape is not nature but nature transformed by humanity. In this view, all landscapes carry symbolic meaning because all are products of the human appropriation and transformation of the environment, whether physically ... or in the meaning we give to landscapes such as the Grand Canyon or to the World Trade Center [site]...²⁹

Another important aspect of the symbolic landscape is legends. Smith sees that legends and landscape intersect to give space to ethnicity.³⁰

²⁸ C. Crumley, "Historical Ecology: a multidimensional ecological orientation," in C. Crumley (Ed), *Historical Ecology: cultural knowledge and changing landscapes*, (New Mexico, 1994), p. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3 – 4.

³⁰ Smith, cited by Gruffudd, "Heritage as National Identity: histories and prospects of the national pasts," in D. Herbert (Ed), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London, 1995), p. 51.

One of the most important contributions that cultural geography offers landscape analysis through its methodologies and theoretical stance is the recognition that "... the physical landscape has a dramatic role in a culture's sense of identity with place..."³¹ This along with the incorporation of an historical perspective into any analysis of landscape would illuminate the context and richness of the landscape thereby conveying the emotions and messages contained within a cultural landscape. Identifying the cultural heritage aspects of a landscape would contribute to its richness, as it is very much about identifying and conserving those places which affirm our ideas about our identity through time.

Contributions by particularly anthropologists, archaeologists and environmentalists have been valuable in enhancing our understanding of the cultural landscape. They have assisted and are assisting in the creation of a multi-faceted picture of the landscape, which is allowing us to capture the essence of 'place' rather than its appearance. Cultural geographers Iain Robertson and Penny Richards see that

... the way in which [landscape] is understood is often based upon a phenomenological stance, the 'key issue' in which 'is the manner in which people experience and understand the world.' In this view, then, the physicality of landscape is seen as critical and as the setting in which humanly created locales occur...³²

This view of the landscape as a cultural or symbolic construct is rejected by commentators such as Ingold who sees it as falsely separating the mental and material worlds. Instead, he proposes that a landscape is dynamic, constantly being built and rebuilt.³³

The 'tourism cultural landscape'

³¹ C. Salter, "Cultural Geography as Discovery," p. 432.

³² I. Robertson & P. Richards, "Introduction," p. 7.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The concept of a 'tourism cultural landscape' has been little examined despite heightened interest in cultural landscapes from an increasing number of disciplines. A number of commentators have put forward definitions of tourism cultural landscapes. Tressider sees heritage tourism landscapes as being created by tourism marketing agencies which seek to exploit the potential tourists' desire to separate and distance themselves from everyday realities:

...Each image is constructed within a hegemonic semiotic framework, which creates a collage of temporal divisions; in fact what we witness is a hyper-real sepia toned heritage landscape. The recurrence of images falls into several categories. The representation of heritage is a theme which unites the text through both a commodification of the landscape and the provision of a space in which to interpret the past...³⁴

In a similar vein Milne, Grekin and Woodley see tourism cultural landscapes as:

...being viewed and shaped as commodities – commodities that can then be consumed by potentially malleable consumers. Consumers are tutored to see a particular representation of a commoditised landscape in a number of ways, and by a number of actors...³⁵

This includes the tourists' preconceptions and expectations of a destination shaped by film, literature and word of mouth, and the advertising industry.

These are pervasive influences. Milne, Grekin and Woodley see that:

...once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents, of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery. Tourism is not just a commercial enterprise, but an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition, a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own ends ...³⁶

³⁴ R. Tressider, "The Representation of Sacred Spaces," p. 67.

³⁵ S. Milne, J. Grekin & S. Woodley, "Tourism and the Construction of Place in Canada's Eastern Arctic," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2001), p. 102.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

These are the powerful forces which Relph sees as displacing individual and community ideas about their locale, their sense of place, and producing a sense of 'placelessness'.³⁷ It is for this reason that Relph, who is concerned with the 'Disneyfication' of tourism landscapes, urges "...improved knowledge of the nature of place [to] contribute to the maintenance and manipulation of existing places and the creation of new places..."³⁸

Relph uses a phenomenological framework to explore this notion of 'placelessness',³⁹ a phenomenon he sees as being a result of cultural and geographical homogeneity being imposed on formerly varied cultures and landscapes.⁴⁰ In other words, there is nothing that gives the 'place' a distinctive and identifiable character. In a similar manner Eco has examined 'hyper-real' places such as the facades of Main Street in Disneyland and posits:

...with hyper-reality the sense of vision is reduced to a limited array of features, is then exaggerated and comes to dominate the other senses. Hyper-real places are characterised by surface appearances that do not respond to or welcome the viewer. The sense of sight is reduced to the most immediate and visible aspects of the scene...⁴¹

Similar concerns are raised by Powell in his examination of the changes in the physical and cultural landscape of Singapore as it sought to modernise, decentralise and industrialise following full independence from Britain in 1965.⁴² Urban renewal was

³⁷ L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place*, pp. 75 – 76.

³⁸ G. Ringer, "Introduction," in G. Ringer, (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2001), p. 5.

³⁹ Placelessness according to Relph is an 'inauthentic attitude.' It is transmitted through the media (mass communication, mass culture, big business, central authority and the economic system) which encourages 'placelessness' by weakening the identity of places to the point where they look alike, feel alike and offer bland possibilities for experience. The components of the 'media' interlink combine and complement each other both in creating similar landscapes and in destroying existing places. These are powerful processes of landscape modification which do little to create and maintain significant and diverse places. E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, (London, 1986), p. 90.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴¹ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 10.

⁴² R. Powell, "Erasing memory," p. 86.

rapid and widespread as the government focused on the economic restructuring of the country. By the early 1980s concerns were being raised about the destruction of built heritage and the possibility that Singapore was becoming a:

... faceless city, as the buildings that ... [replaced] the old ones, and the spatial changes, [became] more international in style and ... more homogenous in appearance...⁴³

This subsequently led to concerns regarding the loss of memory that accompanies such physical change and some regarded the urban renewal project as a distortion of history and an invention of 'tradition'; concerns which came to the fore in the mid 1980s when tourist arrivals began to decline.⁴⁴

Concerns such as those raised by Relph and Powell are not the result of a new phenomenon; the spread of Greek civilisation, the Roman Empire, Christianity and the idea of the city are all excellent examples of this globalising phenomenon. According to Relph, what is new is the scale upon which this homogeneity of culture and landscape is occurring, with its disregard for local conditions and the shallowness of experience with which it is associated.⁴⁵ It is important to note that 'placelessness' is an attitude, a state of mind, that is expressed in response to the 'sameness' of the contemporary landscape, and has resulted in a situation where "... we neither experience nor create places with more than a superficial and casual attitude ..."⁴⁶ Relph does not view the attitude and expression of 'placelessness' in a wholly negative manner. He sees that it is a phenomenon that has existed through time and is valuable as it provides a context and

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88 – 90 & 94.

⁴⁵ E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p. 79.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

comparison essential for a sense of place. Some people for example, when viewing their experiences at a McDonald's restaurant in Beijing and Moscow will see only similarities, whereas others will only notice the differences.

The notion of 'placelessness' advanced by Relph, which is valuable because it emphasises a holistic approach to the idea of landscape and 'place,' has been criticised largely because of its subjective emphasis. Relph's phenomenological framework has allowed him to do this; one of the many ironies associated with a postmodern stance. Relph's disregard for a scientific approach to the study of place has meant that he is able to proclaim whether a landscape or an environment is a 'place' or a 'non-place.'⁴⁷ Consequently he is able to label McDonald's and Kentucky Fried as "... obviously ridiculous and absurd in their own right..."⁴⁸ without acknowledging that his 'non-place' may very well be another's 'place.' His failure to provide a criteria or framework of 'placelessness' allows him to make such assertions. In order to correct Relph's bias, Ringer believes that a destination must be understood, "... not only in terms of physical and functional attractiveness, but more importantly as a phenomenon of personal experience..."⁴⁹

Relph extends his discussion of 'place' by applying the idea of 'authenticity' to the emotional and physical connection an individual or community has to a place, stating that:

⁴⁷ J. Sime, "Creating Places or Designing Spaces?," in L. Groat (Ed), *Environmental Psychology: giving places meaning*, (Sydney, 1995), pp. 32 – 33.

⁴⁸ Cited by *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ G. Ringer, "Introduction," p. 5.

...an 'authentic' sense of place implies that a fundamental, lasting truth about a place is known, going beyond the ephemerality of the constantly changing modern world, and tapping in to an unchanging *genius loci*, or unique 'spirit of place'... having this authentic sense of place implies a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of place – not mediated and distorted through a series of quite arbitrary social and intellectual fashions about how that experience should be, nor following stereotypical conventions. It comes from a ...profound and unselfconscious identity with place. The alternative here is a superficial knowledge of (and relationship with) place, and a landscape which is a bland 'flatscape' rather than one full of significant places...⁵⁰

Perhaps the most encompassing idea of a tourism cultural landscape is gained from Wall's analysis of landscape and tourism in Bali. He views this landscape as a:

... palimpsest of layered, highly individualised meanings. Tourism, in its varied forms, adds new elements and users to the landscape, and gives added value to the physical landscape and culture of Bali. As such, the physiographic and human landscapes are continually (re)created, modified and shared, at a price, by among others, the Balinese, their gods, the tourism industry and the tourists. The resulting destination is neither an expression of Balinese culture nor an artifact of tourism alone. Rather, it is an amalgam of a multiplicity of influences which have combined to form a changing mélange that is now distinctively Balinese ...⁵¹

Wall's definition can be partially applied to the Cairns region during the period 1890 – 1970 particularly in terms of the change in the way rainforest has been viewed, used and valued. However a feature of tourism in the Cairns region and a departure from the experience of Bali is that during the period very little attention was paid or value given to Aboriginal culture. Mona Mona and Yarrabah Missions both were available as attractions but these were either not encouraged or aroused little interest in the travelling public, particularly as visits were usually by arrangement only. However, at least three attractions employed Aboriginal guides: the 'Jungle' in Malanda; Koombal Park at Browns Bay; and Paronella Park. Tourism in the Cairns region developed around nature,

⁵⁰ L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place*, p. 76.

⁵¹ G. Wall, "Landscape Resources, Tourism and Landscape Change in Bali, Indonesia," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2001), p. 61.

and European cultural notions about it. The issues surrounding the ‘authenticity’ surrounding tourism attractions are discussed later in this chapter.

Several commentators built upon the geographical theme of movement to further understand relationships between people and place. Seamon (1979) applied a phenomenological methodology to the idea of movement. He conceptualised a movement – rest – encounter framework, from which, according to Holloway and Hubbard, three findings are significant:

...Firstly...people are attached to place both emotionally and bodily; this multidimensional attachment is a key part of being ‘at home’ in a place. Secondly...attachment and ‘at homeness’ tend to be associated with routine, regularity and the everyday. These notions become taken for granted by both body and mind so that conscious thought appears unnecessary in our everyday dealings with familiar places and/or situations. A sense of continuity is important here, and many people express strong urges to preserve what they know – despite recognising that places must undergo substantial changes...Thirdly...people encounter the world by moving and resting in it...there is an important dialectical relationship between movement and rest...the security and ‘centredness’ of home is contrasted with the sense of adventure and perhaps danger of venturing into the unknown...⁵²

In a similar vein, Tuan (1979) sees ‘place as a pause in movement’:

...the pause makes it possible for a locality to become a centre of felt value...this...contributes to the depth of [human] sentiment for place...permanence is an important element in the idea of place. Things and objects endure and are dependable in ways that human beings, with their biological weaknesses and shifting moods, do not endure and are not dependable... [however] in the absence of the right people, things and places are quickly drained of meaning...⁵³

The idea of places becoming drained of meaning in the absence of the ‘right people’ is pertinent for this study. A number of the region’s early attractions were owner operated

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 79 – 80.

⁵³ Y. Tuan, *Space and Place: the perspective of experience*, (London, 1979), pp. 138 – 140.

viewed as the evidence of the Fall, its deplorable ruins. Landscapes, mountains and valleys however were transformed under the influence of Romantic poets, scientists and philosophers. Eighteenth century writers and thinkers championed the imperfect, the informal and the irregular in nature and the landscape.⁵⁹ This, combined with easier travelling due to the advances in transportation brought about by the Industrial Revolution, led to people becoming more familiar with landscape features and with this increasing familiarity came the emotions historically associated with them⁶⁰ and the beginnings of a tourist industry. However it was not until 1842 that Thomas Cook organised the first tour, utilising the new railway system. Slowly the general population was able to access that which had previously only been easily available to the educated and the elite. Under the influence of both Romantic and scientific thinking mountains in particular became associated with health. Towner sees that this change was important in the development of many tourism cultural landscapes and during the late 18th and in the early 19th centuries many sanatoriums, hotels and tourism facilities were constructed.⁶¹ In the Cairns region these sanatoriums and health resorts included Innot Hot Springs, Herberton, Beachview at Malanda, Mt Kooyong and Kuranda.

Tuan also notices the diminished emotional response to the landscape over time:

...To speak of nature today is to speak of the countryside and the wilderness; and wilderness... is a word that has ceded almost all its power to evoke awe. Nature has lost the dimensions of height and depth; it gained the less austere qualities of charm and picturesqueness. In this diminutive sense, nature evokes images similar to those of countryside, landscape and scenery...⁶²

⁵⁹This shift in perception was brought about by the abandonment of the idea that the circle symbolised perfection, an idea held by astronomers through to theologians and philosophers. The realisation that the earth was not a perfect sphere travelling in a circular orbit was challenging. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹J. Towner, "What is Tourism's History?," *Tourism Management*, 1995, vol. 16, no. 5, pp. 339 – 341.

⁶²Y. Tuan, *Topophilia*, pp. 132 – 133.

results in our ignoring the social matrices that frame or produce it (e.g. the development of Niagara Falls as a fundamental symbol of the grandeur of American nature in the nineteenth century), or the realities and textures of human activities necessary to make it work as a site of nature...⁵⁵

This has resulted in the tourism cultural heritage of the Cairns region being ignored.

Tuan sees that the changing meanings associated with words such as 'nature,' 'landscape' and 'scenery,' words often used interchangeably due to their common core of meaning, can be traced to the transformation in world view from cosmos to landscape. He sees this change occurring somewhere between 1500 and 1800 A.D, the effects of which can be identified when examining literature and landscape painting from this period.⁵⁶ As people slowly began to change their view of their world as vertical and socially stratified, to a horizontal "... flat nonrotary segment of nature called landscape...",⁵⁷ so too changed their ideas and meanings associated with nature. With this axial change metaphorical, transcendental and symbolic aspects of Europe's world view were lost.⁵⁸

Tuan sees that intellectual shifts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributed to this dramatic change in viewing the world and our view of features of the landscape such as mountains and valleys. Until the eighteenth century mountains and valleys were portrayed in literature with a mixture of awe touched with fear; they were

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁶ During medieval times people conceived of their cosmos as vertical. "Vertical here means ... more than a dimension in space. It is charged with meaning. It signifies transcendence and has affinity with a particular notion of time... [it] coincides with a cyclical conception of time; a culture with a sharply articulated calendar of festivals is likely to conceive a highly stratified cosmos. Corresponding to this ... is a special view of human nature – one which discerns a vertical dimension in the metaphorical sense. Human nature is polarised. Man plays two roles, the social-profane and the mythical- sacred, the one bound to time, the other transcending it..." Y. Tuan, *Topophilia*, pp. 129, 132 & 134 – 135.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

and began to decline around the time they were sold. While it would be simplistic to see the demise of an attraction's appeal being solely due to the departure of one person, particularly as other forces such as changes in the perception of nature were at work, the idea of the 'right person' is useful as a partial explanation for the demise of attractions.

The idea of 'nature'

Nature is a notion central to the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. It is a problematic concept. Human perception of 'nature' is a very large field of enquiry. Therefore only a few of commentators have been selected for inclusion in this review, those who assist in explaining the development of a tourism cultural landscape based on nature. Stepan provides a useful fusion of landscape and nature which helps negotiate the problems associated with defining landscape and nature.

Nature according to Stepan incorporates:

...empirical descriptions of flora and fauna, parks and gardens, as well as aesthetic and emotional responses to the natural world...[and] has no trans-historical meaning, but rather many different meanings corresponding to specific material, social and intellectual conditions...⁵⁴

This helps to explain the changing perceptions and descriptions of the Cairns region.

Stepan's concern is with 'tropical nature' which she conceptualises as a special kind of landscape or place:

...the word *landscape* refers to a manner of perceiving space in terms of a scene situated at a distance from the observer, as though it were a painted picture; it is rooted... in a Western way of organising the visual field. But we also project onto different landscapes or natural objects all sorts of social and symbolic meanings concerning home, nation, human identity and transcendence. Particular places or natural sights are often singled out as special locations of commemoration and tourism. The designation of a site as one of 'nature' often

⁵⁴N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 21.

The view of nature as an expression of Divine creation has persisted into modern times with Seddon seeing that:

...the Romanticism of Nature as partaking of Divinity is a major component of popular culture today... expressed in phrases such as 'interfering with Nature' (which is supposed to be a bad thing to do) or 'Design with nature (which is supposed to be a good thing to do); and ... 'Mother Nature' and 'Nature knows best,' beloved of the homeopaths...⁶³

The challenge for historians dealing with 'nature' today according to Tom Griffiths is to:

...go beyond a description of how humans perceive or interact with their environment over time... [and] broaden the cast of historical actors to include plants and animals, whole ecosystems, even the elements...⁶⁴

Ecological principles have influenced the idea of nature particularly since the 1960s. This is reflected in the management of National Parks where there is now a biocentric rather than anthropocentric focus to their management. Griffiths notes that the ecological vision shifted the emphasis from:

...preserving the aesthetically pleasing or spiritually uplifting places... to non-human values: the preservation of diversity, the protection of gene pools, the integrity of ecosystems, the independent rights of plants and animals...⁶⁵

The declining influence of scenic and recreation values in the designation of wilderness areas and National Parks has important implications for tourism particularly as the wilderness aesthetic casts humans as intruders. As a result "...nature conservation [has come] to have purposes completely independent of tourism and sometimes in conflict with it..."⁶⁶

⁶³G. Seddon, *Landprints: reflections on place and landscape*, (Melbourne, 1997), p. 8.

⁶⁴T. Griffiths, "Secrets of the Forest: writing environmental history," in Garden, Don (Ed), *Created Landscapes: historians and the environment*, (Victoria, 1993), p. 49.

⁶⁵T. Griffiths, *Forests of Ash: an environmental history*, (Melbourne, 2001), p. 125.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

... They [ways of viewing] can be crudely located along an axis measured off by degrees of internalising and externalising Nature. At one pole, we see ourselves as part of Nature, a concept at which we arrive through evolutionary theory. Our species is collapsed into the biosphere, rather than set outside it. At the other pole, natural systems are seen as self-regulating and self-maintaining, with our species seen as of very minor significance in the scheme of things; our pretensions to externality, responsibility and some degree of control are irrelevant. The more common forms, however, are those implicit in much ecological writing, which is preoccupied with 'natural systems,' 'the balance of Nature,' and so on. Human intervention is conceptualised as *disturbance*, almost always seen in a negative light, which clearly externalises us from Nature itself. We operate *on* Nature. Somewhere in the middle, very uncomfortably sited, is the most common conceptualisation, of our species as a part of Nature, yet at the same time responsible for managing it. The paradoxes of conservation arise from this uneasy compromise – wilderness areas, for instance, are managed to protect them from *disturbance*, human intervention, but how? – by human intervention, of course. And, for whom? Well, for us; for Natural Man ...⁷⁰

This framework is not particularly helpful when examining descriptions of nature based destinations written particularly around the turn of the twentieth century; a time when nature was the enemy, something to be mastered and tamed for utilitarian purposes. However by the 1930s ideas consistent with current ecological and conservation practices were beginning to appear in the literature.

Usefully, for the purposes of this thesis Seddon has identified a group of landscape words that indicate *contrived disorder* ... words like 'spilling,' 'cascading,' 'tumbling,' drift.' He sees the use of this type of language as reflecting a deep dichotomy in our culture:

... to spill something is to lose a liquid from its container by accident, and there is nothing good about it. No one wants to spill a glass of claret ... Yet plants 'spilling' over a path are eminently desirable. Why do we use these words, and the others like it? Note that they all have fluid overtones: mountain streams tumble and cascade; a boat in a river may drift aimlessly in the current. But when we aim to plant things in drifts, are we aimless? Not at all. We merely want to appear so. The effects we seek are wholly conscious, highly contrived, but the

⁷⁰ G. Seddon, *Landprints*, pp. 1 – 14.

Ecological principles are considered to be the most influential intellectual spur to the back-to-the-earth movement of the 1970s and are probably the explanation for the revival of rural Romanticism during this period.⁶⁷ This movement along with the alternative lifestyles of the 1960s had an important influence on the development of Kuranda's character, unique for the North. This alternative culture itself became a tourist attraction. The Cairns region's tourist counter-culture has become commodified over the last 30 years, destroyed for the very qualities which popularised it: its alternative culture, and perceptions of authenticity and spontaneity. In 2001 commentators were noting that the paradox identified by MacCannell in 1992 still held:

...the consequence of mass tourism is to homogenise tourist space through the processes of commodification, while its ideology retains an emphasis upon escape and difference as the hallmarks of authentic tourist experience...⁶⁸

The consequence of this for 'nature' is succinctly stated by Rojek who points out that:

...concrete increasingly covers the paradisaical islands, sandy beaches and mountain retreats that our culture has traditionally identified as the embodiment of 'nature' and a principal object of tourist escape experience...⁶⁹

The Romantic ideal of being alone with the tourist object so that one can possess it fully is abandoned.

Seddon provides a useful view of Nature, which he believes has been placed on a continuum and is viewed in one of three ways, 'ways that are not mutually compatible in logic':

⁶⁷F. Moorhouse, "The bush against the Laundromat," in G. Seddon & M. Davis (Eds), *Man and Landscape in Australia: towards an ecological vision*, (Canberra, 1976), pp. 177 – 178.

⁶⁸ MacCannell cited by C. Rojek, "Cybertourism and the phantasmagoria of place," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2001), p. 42.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Seddon believes that this type of language, particularly when examining scale was prevalent in early tourism literature as authors and artists sought to:

...celebrate and exaggerate ... scale, hence the rhetoric of the sublime, full of words like 'towering peaks' and 'rushing waterfalls'... [in order to] to inflate yourself along with the landscape. The converse is to make yourself secure by scaling down, the rhetorical trope of meiosis, more common in Australia: it lies behind some of our common terms like 'bush' ... which we [apply to] 100-metre tall mountain ash forest. A different form of scaling down is to use the language of utility: the Snowy River was often described as a 'wasted resource.' It is now a 'national heritage,' although it was a much more powerful river during its days as a 'wasted resource' than it is now ...⁷⁵

Writer Jeanne Heal demonstrates this tendency after a visit to the Atherton Tableland in the 1950s:

...Australia is the *biggest* country one could possibly imagine, in every way. Flowers are big, on big plants in gardens. Streets are big. Landscape is limitless. It is impossible to imagine anyone ever going in for anything miniature – a herb garden with miniature plants, perhaps, or tiny stitches on fine samplers, or dolls' houses with scaled-down furniture...these things just cannot occur to the mind in the vast, unphotographable panorama that is Australia...⁷⁶

As already noted, vital in understanding the development of a cultural landscape is the historical perspective. Jim Davidson and Peter Spearitt's *Holiday Business: tourism in Australia since 1870*, was important in examining the development of the 'tourism cultural landscape' of the Cairns region. Environmental, social and cultural factors in the development of Australian tourism are presented throughout thematically arranged chapters addressing accommodation, transport, Aboriginal tourism, the development of health tourism and the emergence of beach culture, the role of the tourist bureaux, and the development of the tourism industry. Covering similar ground is John Richardson's *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism* who also examines the effect of immigrants on

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 – 22.

⁷⁶ J. Heal, *A Thousand and One Australians*, (London, 1959), pp. 180 – 181.

contrivance should not be apparent... but why? What is this deep dichotomy in our culture? After all, order and explicit, intentional control are central to the great Italian gardens. Nothing could be more explicit than the regular geometric bed defined by clipped box. There is no question about who is calling the shots. We are. Nature is subject... The opposing impulse, the love of the unconstrained in nature, has also been a recurrent theme for much of recorded history, a Romantic counterpoint to the love of visible order ... but why these cultural choices, which are especially well displayed in Australasia, but by no means restricted to it? ... both [ordered and contrived nature] represent a high level of input ... the spontaneity is all illusion [always requiring] multiple explanations [such as] sheer fashion ... travel to Europe, especially Britain, where the appearance of spontaneity is easier to achieve than it is in much of Australia ... but it also seems... that the value placed on order depends on the degree to which it can be taken for granted...⁷¹

Seddon has also identified a range of phrases used for coping with the environment; words concerned with owning, possessing, dispossessing, imprinting, appropriating, scaling, taming, self-justifying and making familiar the landscape.⁷² He draws our attention to the subjective nature of our perception even when associated with seemingly objective entities in our environment such as judging distance and estimating size. Our reliance on past experience in a new environment may turn out to be misleading or irrelevant shaped as it is by cultural influences and individual variability in perceptions of a given landscape, destination or event.⁷³ He questions the clichéd use of words when speaking of landscape, labelling them as Eurocentric: ‘vast,’ ‘harsh,’ ‘hostile,’ ‘unforgiving.’ In relation to the vastness of Western Australia he tartly points out that:

...a square mile in Western Australia is exactly the same size as a square mile anywhere else. No one talks about the vast landscapes of Europe... Western Australia is sparsely populated and it is a large *political unit*, but neither of these facts adds one cubit to the extent of its *landscapes*...⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 – 19.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11 – 13.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 – 34.

Australian tourism, particularly in relation to restaurant cuisine, and the globalisation of international tourism.⁷⁷ Both books represent the first national histories of leisure and tourism patterns in Australia. While neither book directly addresses the idea of image in the development of a destination, it is a notion that is taken for granted particularly by Davidson and Spearitt in their discussion of how tourists interact with destinations.

The multi-faceted image

The notion of image is important when analysing the development of a tourism cultural landscape. A landscape is dynamic and ever changing and above all it is "... innately visual..."⁷⁸ The nexus of image, through art and photography, and tourism produces wide debate in the literature due to the way image defines and redefines 'reality.' This defining and redefining of 'reality' is important in the development of a tourism cultural landscape. According to Sontag:

... photographs do more than redefine the stuff of ordinary experience (people, things, events, whatever we see – albeit differently, often inattentively – with natural vision) and add vast amounts of material that we never see at all. Reality as such is redefined – as an item for exhibition, as a record for scrutiny, as a target for surveillance. The photographic exploration and duplication of the world fragments continuities and feeds the pieces into an interminable dossier, thereby providing possibilities of control that could not even be dreamed of under the earlier system of recording information: writing...⁷⁹

Related to photography is cinematic film, a medium which became increasingly important as the 20th century progressed especially in portraying the wonders of the Great Barrier Reef. Forbes sees film:

⁷⁷ A. Kostianen, "Review of A History of Australian Travel and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2002, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 273 – 274.

⁷⁸ I. Robertson & P. Richards, "Introduction," p.17.

⁷⁹ S. Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 156.

...as being of profound importance in the modern world. The techniques of film-making, such as the ability to vary space-time relationships in framing scenes, means it has an immediate impact of the senses (its so-called haptical quality) whilst transcending realism. The tendency for film's influence to leak into the landscape, mixing cinematic imagery into everyday events, means that the imagery of the cinema or television infiltrates community perspectives on society and space...⁸⁰

Like photography, cinematography "...has the power to manipulate time and place and thus 'take' us anywhere or into any time period..."⁸¹ Cinematography's point of difference is that the images 'move, both through time and space.' According to Robertson and Richards the movement of images allows us to:

...experience landscapes as 'narrative' – that is, as elements of storytelling. And we can even come to think of landscapes as characters who change, disappear, and reappear in the lives of human characters. Landscapes in film therefore exhibit that power of film to capture the 'flow of life'...the stream of material situations and happenings with all that they intimate in terms of emotions, values, thoughts. The implication is that the flow of life is predominantly a material rather than a mental continuum, even though, by definition, it extends into the mental dimension...⁸²

John Urry also argues for the fundamentally visual nature of tourism experiences. Central to his analysis is the social construction of gazes, dependent upon historical period: the Romantic, collective and postmodern gazes.⁸³ He sees that the 'tourist gaze' which he locates as being part of either the collective or the earlier Romantic gaze, depending upon what site is being viewed, organises:

...the encounters of visitors with the 'other,' providing some sense of competence, pleasure and structure to those experiences... it demarcates an array of pleasurable qualities to be generated within particular times and spaces. It is

⁸⁰D. Forbes, "Reading Texts and Writing Geography," in I. Hay (Ed), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, (Melbourne, 2000), p. 134.

⁸¹I. Robertson & P. Richards, *Studying Cultural Landscapes*, (London, 2003), p. 71.

⁸²*Ibid.*, pp. 71 – 72.

⁸³R. Prentice, "Revisiting heritage," p. 168. Urry's postmodern gaze recognises tourists' reflexivity, that is, their ability to locate their own culture and to reflect upon it while consuming the aesthetics of another culture. This gaze is aesthetic in its focus and emphasises semiotic skills. *Ibid.*

the gaze that orders and regulates the relationships between the various sensuous experiences while away, identifying what is visually out-of-the-ordinary, which establish 'difference' and what is 'other'...⁸⁴

Urry's view has been both criticised and built upon by others. Hollingshead has argued that:

...the notion of the gaze is insufficiently developed in relationship to its Foucauldian legacy... [while Perkins and Thorns see] ... that the notion of the gaze is too static and passive and ignores performance and adventure ...⁸⁵

Similar to Urry's gaze is the 'search for insight' tradition, a tradition which can be traced back to Tilden (1957) and dominant in the American National Parks debate, which under the influence of John Muir, established the idea of the interpretation of nature. The insight tradition is concerned with:

...facilitating insight through interpreting what is looked at [thereby placing] much emphasis ... on the effectiveness of interpretation... this tradition assumes that heritage tourists and other serious consumers demand informed experiences and wish to be mindful that they are itinerant encoders of information and are both associative and empathetic...⁸⁶

In recent years connections between the tourist gaze and photography have been further examined. Commentators such as Taylor and Osborne do not view photography and tourism as separate processes but that:

...each derives from and enhances the other, an 'ensemble' ... If photography had not been 'invented'... then contemporary tourism based upon the gaze would have been wholly different... [they describe] the ultimate inseparability of the medium [of photography] from tourism's general culture and economy and from the varieties of modern culture of which they are constitutive...⁸⁷

⁸⁴J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 13.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁸⁶R. Prentice, "Revisiting Heritage," p. 167.

⁸⁷J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 14.

This connection between photography and tourism has been identified as occurring as early as the late nineteenth century in Egypt in a process which Gregory described as ‘kodakisation’:

...Egypt became scripted as a place of constructed visibility, with multiple, enframed theatrical scenes set up for the edification, entertainment and visual consumption of ‘European’ visitors. Cairo became ‘no more than a Winter Suburb of London.’ Studies have shown how this produced a ‘new Egypt’ available for visually consuming visitors. Such an Egypt consisted of the Suez Canal, of ‘Paris-on-the-Nile,’ of Thomas Cook and Sons, of cleaned-up ‘ancient Egypt,’ of the exotic oriental ‘other’ and of convenient vantage-points and viewing platforms for the gaze...⁸⁸

Commentators such as Powell see that the power of an image is significant from an historical perspective. As the tourism cultural landscape has been progressively commodified and rearranged to fit ideas of ‘authenticity’ and ‘reality,’ memories which are “... far, far more transient than buildings...”⁸⁹ have been erased and traditions invented. Powell following Umberto Eco sees a certain irony in the simultaneous creation of a simulacrum, as we:

...bid farewell with various degrees of nostalgia to the absolutely real and embrace the absolutely fake. For future generations, however, it is the latter that will shape ideas about the nation’s past. The absolutely real has become the new reality...⁹⁰

While photography creates an effective medium for seeing earlier realities, this is best realised when images are accompanied by ‘word pictures,’ which in the early 20th century tended to be elaborate.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14 – 15.

⁸⁹ R. Powell, “Erasing memory,” p. 97.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Historically, photography and tourism developed together. Up until recently, much of the discussion surrounding tourism imagery has been in terms of “...the economic interests of [the] advertising [industry] or the social psychology of consumption ...”⁹¹ However, concerns about the meanings associated with images were being raised as early as the 1840s. In 1843, Feuerbach in *The Essence of Christianity* observed about ‘his era:’ “... it prefers the image to the thing, the copy to the original, the representation to the reality, appearance to being – while being aware of doing just that ...”⁹² Sontag sees Feuerbach’s words written a few years after the invention of the camera, as a “... presentiment of the impact of photography...,”⁹³ this despite Feuerbach presenting reality as unchanging and intact and images as merely copies of the real, seductive and subject to change.

In recent years commentators have focused on the “... importance of deconstructing the cultural discourses of destinations in the wider context of social and political processes...”⁹⁴ Albers and James, in their analysis of the manner in which tourism imagery has reinforced and advanced a stereotyped image of the Western Great Lakes Indians, posit:

... that photographs have become the principal mode of communication associated with modern tourism. Photographs play an important role in tourism, both as a means of anticipating and certifying the traveller’s experience. Whether photographs are created for or by tourists, they constitute an important domain of visual imagery. Like all other images photographs are the reproduced appearances of sights which are removed from the context in which they originate ... [they] may give the illusion that [they embody] a slice of visual reality. But it is not merely an objective representation of reality; it is also a subjectively

⁹¹ I. Ateljevic & S. Doorne, “Representing New Zealand: tourism imagery and ideology,” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 2002, vol. 29, no. 3, p. 649.

⁹² S. Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 153.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ I. Ateljevic & S. Doorne, “Representing New Zealand,” p. 649.

constituted 'way of seeing'... What is 'read' from a photograph, the 'visual messages' which form a 'language of images' is integrally related to symbolic interpretation ... imagery is embedded in a framework of ideology and visual symbolism...⁹⁵

Similar concerns regarding the Australian experience have been raised by Michael Cathcart in relation to the Australian Aborigines; concerns which may account for their virtual absence from the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region until recently. Cathcart in his examination of visual representations of Ayers Rock prior to the 1960s, sees that there are two types of image being portrayed: images of an empty desert and black and white images of 'traditional' Aborigines.⁹⁶ He sees this manner of representation of the 'outback' and Aborigines as serving a political purpose, the principle of *terra nullius*:

... It is often said that *terra nullius* was the principle that the Aboriginal people did not exist – that this was an 'empty land.' But *terra nullius* was a more complex idea than that. In law, it stood for the principle that Aborigines did not occupy the land in a manner which constituted ownership... it did not deny their existence, but it did deny that they were people with a culture. It did not deny their presence, but it did deny their humanity... it allowed whites to believe that the Aborigines were *present*, yet *Stone Age*. That they were the children of a 'timeless' Dreamtime... in European Australia, these black and white films and photographs reinforced this mind-set. They depicted a time-locked zone in which Aborigines danced in the half-light of the Dreamtime, while the industrialising world forged onwards towards a Kodachrome future...⁹⁷

The powerful and multi-faceted nature of 'reality' in influencing and creating an image is significant and pervasive. In Sontag's opinion:

... 'Our era' does not prefer images to real things out of perversity but partly in response to the ways in which the notion of what is real has been progressively complicated and weakened, one of the early ways being the criticism of reality as

⁹⁵ P. Albers & W. James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1983, vol. 10, pp. 125 – 126.

⁹⁶ M. Cathcart, "Uluru," in T. Bonyhady & T. Griffiths (Eds), *Words for Country: landscape and language in Australia*, (Sydney, 2002), pp. 212 – 213.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

façade which arose among the enlightened middle classes [of the nineteenth century, producing the opposite of the effect intended.] To reduce large parts of what has hitherto been regarded as real to mere fantasy, as Feuerbach did when he called religion 'the dream of mankind' and dismissed theological ideas as psychological projections; or to inflate the random and trivial details of everyday life into ciphers of hidden historical and psychological forces, as Balzac did in his encyclopedia of social reality in novel form – these are themselves ways of experiencing reality as a set of appearances, an image...⁹⁸

Exploring the extent and multifaceted nature of an image is not an easy undertaking. Hartig utilised K.E. Boulding's methodology to analyse the internal structure of the images associated with The Blue Mountains between 1870 and 1900. Boulder identified ten dimensions within an image that recognise "...the subjective knowledge structure of the individual or organisation that ultimately determines the image...":⁹⁹ the spatial;¹⁰⁰ the temporal;¹⁰¹ the relational;¹⁰² the personal;¹⁰³ the value;¹⁰⁴ the affectional;¹⁰⁵ the conscious and unconscious;¹⁰⁶ the certainty or uncertainty dimensional;¹⁰⁷ the reality and unreality dimension;¹⁰⁸ and the public and private dimension.¹⁰⁹ Hartig applied these dimensions to the image of The Blue Mountains and found that seven were significant in analysing their

⁹⁸ S. Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 60.

⁹⁹ K. Hartig, *Images of the Blue Mountains*, (Sydney, 1987), p. 82.

¹⁰⁰ The picture of the individual's location in the space around them. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁰¹ The individual's picture of the stream of time (past and future) and their place within it. *Ibid.*

¹⁰² The picture of the universe around them as a system of regularities. *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ The picture of the individual in the midst of the universe of persons, roles and organisations around them. This image can be reinforced, modified or altered by experiences or the acceptance of socio-environmental messages. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ The ordering on a scale of better or worse of the various parts of an image. If a high value is placed on the image it will resist conflicting messages. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ The feelings or affection with which the image is imbued. This is closely related to the value image as the value aspect of the image determines the emotions or affections displayed. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ The image invokes a type of scanning apparatus that has the ability to recall certain elements from the unconsciousness. Moreover, it is the conscious mind that governs rational behaviour. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Some aspects within an image will be clear while other parts will contain uncertainty. An image that contains uncertainty will be more susceptible to change. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁸ People are able to differentiate between what is real in the outside world and the dreams within one's imagination. Nonetheless, all images are composed of these elements for when we perceive the real world, it is impinged upon by our hopes and dreams for the future. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ The image always remains the property of the individual, however, parts of the image are also shared with others within the society. *Ibid.*

internal structure.¹¹⁰ Boulding's identification of the principal dimensions within an image allowed a more comprehensive understanding of the structure, meaning and functioning of an image to emerge.¹¹¹ In relation to this study, Boulding's most important contribution is his view that it is the subjective knowledge structure of the individual or organisation that ultimately determines the image.¹¹² This is clearly seen in images of the Cairns region whereby a few came to represent the whole region.

Measurement of a 'destination image' is hampered by a lack of precise definition. Like other concepts examined in this study it is a nebulous idea and has shifting meanings. An image is made up of both tangible and intangible aspects but most researchers according to Echtner and Ritchie have tended to conceptualise "...destination image in terms of lists of attributes, and not in terms of holistic impressions..."¹¹³ They suggest that another dimension of a 'destination image' exists, that of "...unique features and events (functional characteristics) or auras (psychological characteristics)..."¹¹⁴ Examples of the former include the Taj Mahal and the latter, the aura of the Vatican and the Romantic atmosphere of Paris. The incorporation of this dimension allows:

...destination images [to be] arranged on a continuum ranging from traits which can be commonly used to compare all destinations to those which are unique to very few destinations...¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ C. Echtner & J. Ritchie, "The Meaning and Measurement of Destination Image," *Journal of Tourism Studies*, May 2003, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 41.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Echtner and Ritchie see that most researchers have not been able to capture the unique components of a destination image, resulting in an incomplete measurement of the image.¹¹⁶ In order to overcome this shortcoming they see that a combination of structured and unstructured¹¹⁷ methodologies should be used to measure destination image.

Commentators such as John Urry highlight the essentially visual nature of tourism experiences. His idea of the 'tourist gaze,' which he sees as either part of the Romantic or collective gaze, are useful albeit broad tools, for analysing early 'ways of seeing' the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. Criticism by Hollingshead, Perkins and Thorns alerts us to the notion that the 'tourist gaze' is not a static one and is in fact dynamic. According to Powell, over time the tourism cultural landscape is rearranged to accommodate ideas of 'reality' and 'authenticity.' The process of portraying destinations in tourism literature disrupts these ideas, as a photograph of an attraction removes it from its context and portrays a selected 'view' of a destination.

Economic models of tourism development

The economic development of a tourism cultural landscape can be examined using a number of frameworks and theories. These include Butler's Destination Lifecycle model, Berry's application of Butler's model to the Cairns region, Keller's Core-periphery model of tourism development and Paasi's theory of the institutionalisation of regions. In 1980 Butler, when writing about destination development, identified five stages: exploration,

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹¹⁷ Structured methodologies consider attractions or destinations in terms of directly observable or measurable characteristics such as prices, climate and infrastructure, whereas unstructured methodologies commonly use open-ended questions to elicit intangible aspects such as overall impressions, perceptions and feelings. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 – 43.

involvement, development, consolidation, and stagnation.¹¹⁸ He modified, reformulated and expanded Gilbert's (1939) and Christaller's (1963) three stage models of resort evolution so that they corresponded more closely with modern ideas of a product lifecycle.¹¹⁹

In the first stage of Butler's model, that of exploration, there are few tourists, the natural environment is unspoiled, there is little disturbance of the local community by the tourists, and little interest in the tourists by the locals. It is these features which attract tourists to the destination.¹²⁰ In the second stage, the involvement stage, the community becomes involved, facilities and infrastructure are built, and tourism associations are established which define the market. This leads to an increase in tourist numbers and infrastructure development, and a 'tourist season' and market area emerges. The public sector may be asked to provide infrastructure.¹²¹ During the third stage, the development stage, attractions have been identified, developed and marketed and purpose built attractions created. It is during this stage that the novelty of the destination begins to wane as tourist numbers increase. This results in capital investment by external organisations and the appearance of changes in the destination. The quality of the features of a destination and the destination as a whole may begin to be adversely affected by high visitor numbers.¹²²

¹¹⁸ S. Lundtorp & S. Wanhill, 2001, "The Resort Lifecycle Theory: generating processes and estimation," *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 947 – 948.

¹¹⁹ D. Getz, "Tourism Planning and Destination Life Cycle," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1992, vol. 19, pp. 752 – 753.

¹²⁰ E. Berry, An Application of Butler's (1980) Tourist Life Cycle Theory to the Cairns region, Australia, 1876 – 1998, unpublished PhD, James Cook University, Townsville, 2000, p. 174.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² C. Cooper & S. Jackson, "Destination Life Cycle: the Isle of Man Case Study," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1989, vol. 16, p. 378.

The fourth stage is one of consolidation. The volume of tourists continues to grow but at a declining rate and the number of tourists exceeds permanent residents. External investment begins to decrease. During this stage the destination is heavily marketed and tourism revenues are a vital part of the local economy. By this time an identifiable tourism recreational business district should have emerged, and 'staged' attractions may have been developed in an effort to control the flow of tourists and to optimise capital return.¹²³

The final stage of the Destination Lifecycle, that of stagnation, is by no means inevitable according to Butler.¹²⁴ It is this stage which has provoked much of the discussion regarding Butler's model. This stage sees the highest number of tourists achieved. The destination may now be experiencing environmental, social and economic problems.¹²⁵ The structure of the local tourism industry is changing due to the strain on infrastructure from high visitor numbers. This leads to resistance to tourism and tourists by the local inhabitants. According to Butler this results in either a decline or a rejuvenation of the destination; the latter requires a complete change in the attractions upon which tourism is based. Some destinations for example build casinos, or capitalise on previously unused resources to extend the tourist season and attract a new market.¹²⁶ Getz sees that:

... consolidation, decline and rejuvenation can be co-linear and perpetual, as the industry and planners deal with arising problems ... and seek to enhance [the] attractiveness and competitiveness of the destination...¹²⁷

¹²³ E. Berry, "Application of Butler's Tourist Life Cycle Theory," p. 278.

¹²⁴ M. Oppermann, "What is new with the resort cycle?" *Tourism Management*, 1998, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 180.

¹²⁵ C. Cooper & S. Jackson, "Destination Life Cycle," p. 379.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ D. Getz, "Tourism Planning," p. 767.

Furthermore, he believes that:

... for old destinations and for most urban tourism areas, “maturity” will likely be a permanent condition ... a unique natural attraction should not alter this conclusion, because most cities and resorts will never allow tourism to die and will use whatever attractions they can to maintain it ...¹²⁸

Since 1980, Butler’s Life Cycle model has been frequently cited as it has been applied to various settings, and subsequently modified and critiqued. Berry (2000) applied Butler’s theory to the Cairns region. He identifies the ‘exploration stage’ in the region in 1889 with the construction of the Cairns to Kuranda railway allowing adventurous travellers access to the hinterland. This stage lasted until 1912¹²⁹ when the region entered the ‘involvement stage.’ This was a slow process lasting until 1984 when the Cairns International Airport was built.¹³⁰ Its construction acted as a catapult for rapid tourism growth and the region quickly entered the ‘development phase.’ During this stage, which lasted until 1991, attractions were identified, developed and marketed and purpose built attractions created. It is during this stage that adverse effects from visitor numbers are felt and investment becomes significant. Berry sees that the Cairns region entered the ‘stagnation stage’ in 1993. This stage sees high numbers of tourists visiting, infrastructure struggling to cope with increased demand and locals resisting tourism and tourists. This results in either a rejuvenation or decline of the destination.

Berry’s assertion that the Cairns region entered the ‘development stage’ in 1984 requires further examination. The dominance of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 768.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 174 – 175.

(QGTB) and shipping companies over itineraries and passenger movements would qualify, following Butler's theory, as a feature of the 'development stage.' It creates a situation of outside dependency and control whereby profits are leaked from the periphery, the tourism region, to the core region.¹³¹ The monopoly by the QGTB and shipping companies was a persistent obstacle for local tourist associations from the 1930s, indicating that Berry's assertion that Cairns entered the 'development stage' in 1984 with the development of the Cairns International Airport requires further examination.

Oppermann has summarised the shortcomings identified by most researchers applying Butler's model:

...the geographical scale of the 'resort' is ill-defined; there are no given criteria to define individual stages, but the development process is a continuum; the number of tourists and time period for any given evolution stage was never given; and ... it is unilinear...¹³²

Butler's model is not a useful framework for this study because with its quantitative focus on the level of tourism development, it fails to acknowledge the historical and social context of destinations. This according to Saarinen results in "... the conceptual power of destination [being] treated in cavalier fashion by theoretical constructs which tie it to neither space nor history ..."¹³³ Furthermore, Saarinen is of the opinion that the development of tourist destinations is best understood as a "... process of producing spaces..."¹³⁴ A 'tourist space' is both a physical and perceptual entity. Physically it contains things which are considered to be characteristically tourism related. This could

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

¹³² M. Oppermann, 1998, "What is new," p. 179.

¹³³ J. Saarinen, "The social construction of tourist destinations," p. 155.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

include travel agents, hotels, cafes and a museum. On a perceptual level a tourist space is socially produced and is:

...dependent upon relations between events or activities [occurring in the physical area and is thereby] bound to process and time. It is a context, focusing on the characteristics of [physical] places ... it continually [changes] its size and form in response to socio-economic demands and technological progress ...¹³⁵

Early in the development of Cairns for example, infrastructure relative to travellers and tourists emerged close to where they disembarked from either the ship or the train. Physically the development of a 'tourist space' in these early years was an ad-hoc process developing as the expectations of tourists changed and increased. It had, however, the consequence of introducing a new socio-cultural reality to the Cairns region: a reality in the form of tourists or travellers who required accommodation, sustenance, and information regarding and transportation to the local attractions.¹³⁶

Later local government planning processes formalised the spatial arrangement of tourism infrastructure; processes which essentially enshrined an historical construction. In recent years the physical development of tourist spaces has been planned carefully. In some cases this occurs without any existing perception of the area as being associated with tourism. The Tjapukai and Skyrail precinct at Smithfield provides an excellent example of this creation of a tourist space. Pertinent for this study is the location of many attractions within or adjacent to National Parks which were established relatively early, meaning that attractions in Parks had to develop in line with government guidelines and were preserved in relatively pristine states within National Park boundaries. This

¹³⁵ B. Goodall, *The Penguin Dictionary of Human Geography*, (Victoria, 1987), p. 440.

¹³⁶ D. Nash, "Tourism as a form of imperialism," in V. Smith (Ed), *Hosts and Guests: the anthropology of tourism*, second edition, (Philadelphia, 1989), pp. 47 – 48.

established the basic form of tourism from early times through State and Local government guidelines and boundaries: the Barron Falls National Park for example was proclaimed in 1900.¹³⁷

A number of studies have attempted to extend Butler's Life Cycle model. Keller's core-periphery model is one such attempt and is relevant to this study. This models the spatial structure of an economic system and assumes an unequal distribution of power. The core region dominates the periphery in most economic, political and social respects. This produces a dependent relationship between the two which is structured through the various types of exchange between them. As with Butler's model the results obtained using a core-periphery model tend to vary depending upon factors such as the rate of development, access, government policy, competing destinations, and the changing nature of the visitors to the destination.¹³⁸

In the early development of tourism in the Cairns region the tourism industry was very much part of a bigger system or power center that was directing its development.¹³⁹ This was the colonial system with its London center which required from the region the satisfaction of specific touristic needs and dreams. As noted by Selwyn, and now by this study, the periphery as a consequence of these expectations was one of the contexts which shaped tourist myths.¹⁴⁰ The idea of the exotic South Pacific provides an excellent example of this phenomenon. The Romantic picture of the South Pacific was created by

¹³⁷ The area proclaimed as National Park comprised 7,500 acres. See Memo 00:1124/6, dated 4 October 1900, in A/12450: 8850 – 10991, 1913. QSA.

¹³⁸ C. Cooper & S. Jackson, "Destination Life Cycle," p. 379.

¹³⁹ D. Nash, "Tourism as a form of imperialism," p. 49.

¹⁴⁰ T. Selwyn, "Introduction," in T. Selwyn (Ed), *The Tourist Image: myths and myth making in tourism*, (Brisbane, 1996), p. 29.

explorers such as Cook and Bougainville and transplanted to other areas of the Pacific such as Australia. Many early visitors to tropical Australia described what they saw in these terms. Hall sees that the perpetuation and predomination of the Romantic image of the South Pacific and Australia in Europe was due not only to the Romantic 'way of seeing,' but that governments used images to achieve utilitarian ends:

...government utilised and encouraged such images in order to encourage settlement and therefore provide a firmer rationale for the incorporation of these new lands into the imperial structures and, ultimately, into the global system...¹⁴¹

Hall notes the persistence of this imagery into the present at least in the minds of Europeans and North Americans.¹⁴²

Donald Getz too examined the idea of 'tourist space' in his analysis of the Atherton Tableland as the rural hinterland of Cairns. His ideas fit well with Keller's core-periphery model, only applied to town and hinterland. He analysed how destinations and their life cycles of the Tableland were influenced by tour operators, developers of attractions, and marketing agencies.¹⁴³ Using content analysis of tour brochures and tourism publications, tabulation and mapping of day tour routes and stops and mapping of resources and tourist supply, he models his data using two theoretical models by Miossec and Gartner, and he posits that "... rural destination development, in particular, the resort based tour industry is ...an inadequate development tool...[due to its] emphasis on day

¹⁴¹ C.M. Hall, "Making the Pacific: globalisation, modernity and myth," in G. Ringer (Ed), *Destinations: cultural landscapes of tourism*, (London, 2002), p. 143.

¹⁴² This imagery has persisted even though Tahiti receives just 6 percent of all arrivals in the South Pacific including Australasia, Polynesia, Melanesia and parts of Micronesia. A. d'Hauteserre, "Maintaining the Myth: Tahiti and its islands," in C. Cartier & A. Lew (Eds), *Seductions of Place: geographical perspectives on globalisation and touristed landscapes*, (New York, 2005), p. 193.

¹⁴³ D. Getz, "Resort-centred tours and Development of the Rural Hinterland: the case of Cairns and the Atherton Tablelands," *Journal of Tourism Studies*, December 1999, vol. 10, No. 2, p. 24.

trip sightseeing...¹⁴⁴ Getz's findings are useful in explaining the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Atherton Tablelands and include:

...first...in more isolated beach resorts like Cairns the rural hinterland will more likely remain functionally dependent on the one coastal resort [Cairns] for excursions, and must work hard to develop overnight tourism...Second, organisation of the rural hinterland will not necessarily result in the development of major inland attractions or competing resorts, as long as the beach resort [i.e. Cairns] is mostly dependent on package tourists who prefer day excursions only. Finally, the economy and environment of resort hinterlands is an important factor. The Atherton Tablelands had a rural population and communities based on agriculture before Cairns became an international resort destination, so existing infrastructure was available. Nevertheless, the region has had difficulty in deriving substantial benefits from the millions of tourists who visit the coast annually...¹⁴⁵

While Getz acknowledges the region's long tourism history and its reputation as a unique place to visit, he focused on the development of Lake Barrine in the 1920s and Lake Tinaroo after 1950 to illustrate the 'discovery' stage of tourism development on the Atherton Tableland.¹⁴⁶ His historical analysis of the Tableland includes the assertion that the Tablelands did not become an "attraction" until the 1980s.¹⁴⁷ Getz fails to identify that during the early years of tourism in the Cairns region, it was the 'Atherton Tableland' that dominated early tourism literature and contained most of the region's attractions.

Image and myth production and perpetuation are not easily dealt with using economic frameworks such as Butler's model. Paasi and Saarinen's theory of the institutionalisation of regions provides a flexible framework which aids the examination of intangible aspects of a landscape. Saarinen used Paasi's theory to examine the process

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 – 33.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

of transformation of the Saariselkä tourism region in Finnish Lapland. He sees Paasi's theory as a valuable framework for analysing the development of tourist cultural landscapes because they are examined as "...elements of socio-spatial reality..."¹⁴⁸ These elements are described within a regional context as both physical and mental boundaries are transformed and disappear in the course of regional development. Paasi proposed a

...conceptual distinction between region and place, whereby place is defined individually by the actions of the individual. Region, however, is interpreted collectively and represents institutional practices and the history of the region rather than the history of the individual and place. Thus, the difference between place and region is not one of geographical scale but of historical construction...¹⁴⁹

This concept is useful, as the Cairns region is a recognised tourist region which has been constructed around a series of 'places' or attractions. In order to utilise Paasi's framework in this study, a variation of his idea of 'place' is required. 'Place' in this study will continue to be defined individually, that is, through personal interpretation of spatial phenomena. This is necessary because it is the perceptions and actions of individuals regarding a specific place or attraction which contributed to the total tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. When one looks at attractions such as Paronella Park, Lake Barrine tearooms, Brown's Bay resort, Fairyland and the Maze this is particularly striking. These were created by individuals who were propelled by distinctive visions. However, in terms of discussing a tourism cultural landscape it would appear to be necessary to look at the actions of not one individual host or tourist, but many in order to

¹⁴⁸ J. Saarinen, "The Social Construction of Tourist Destinations," p. 158.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

understand how and why one 'place' or attraction evolved while another did not, or alternatively not to the same degree.

Paasi, in order to demonstrate the emergence of a region, conceptualised the process in four stages: territorial shape, symbolic shape, institutional shape and the established role.¹⁵⁰ He does not view these stages as fixed or immutable for the development and transformation of the destination. According to Paasi a region assumes its territorial shape or boundaries, whether physical or mental, by developing:

...social practices through which the region achieves its boundaries [and becomes] identified as a distinct unit in the spatial structure of society ... [this] is a process in which the power relations in society, manifesting themselves in political, administrative / bureaucratic, economic and symbolic institutions, for instance, play a crucial role...¹⁵¹

Power relations are mediated through government departments and tourism non-government organisations and are discussed later in the chapter.

The establishment of boundaries is the foundation upon which the conceptual shape, the second stage in the institutionalisation process, is built. The establishment is not necessarily a quick process and many boundary changes may occur. Paasi sees that it is important to be aware of the history of boundary changes, as the 'structures of expectations,' that is, the relationship between a region and its inhabitants and outsiders, of a region can sometimes contain elements which do not appear to belong today but which may have been part of the region previously.¹⁵² The Chillagoe Caves provide an example of this in the Cairns region. The skyline of this area is dominated by the

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ A. Paasi, "The institutionalisation of regions: A theoretical framework for understanding the emergence of regions and the constitution of regional identity," *Fennia*, 1986, vol. 164, no. 1, pp. 124 – 125.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

chimneys of the Chillagoe Smelters that remind us of the area's important mining past. Paasi's 'structures of expectations' is similar to Raymond Williams 'structure of feeling' which he sees as a "...particular sense of life, a distinct sense of a particular, native style, or a particular community experience hardly needing expression..."¹⁵³

Paasi uses the concept in its broadest sense by including mythical and imagined features of a region along with its physical and cultural aspects. The attachment of the descriptor 'North' to the Cairns region, for example, in early literature reflects the fact that the Region was a vague 'idea' rather than a fixed administrative entity and also placed the Region in opposition with southern parts of the State and country in a North/ South dichotomy.¹⁵⁴ According to Paasi this dichotomy is usually associated with regional policy, typically in the spirit of myth that these areas, despite not having clear boundaries, are exploiting each other.¹⁵⁵

While the first stage refers to the development of social practices by which a region achieves its boundaries, thereby becoming an identifiable unit of society, the second stage concerns itself with the formation of the conceptual shape of a region. This is when territorial symbols become established. Paasi identifies the naming of a region as a symbol of particular importance.¹⁵⁶ The name of the region is important as it has a connective role and a role in the time dimension. When writing about regions it is usual to create continuity for the existence of regions:

...by using the institutionalised name of a region when depicting periods during which the name was not ...generally employed... [is significant in creating] a

¹⁵³ Raymond Williams, cited by *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁵⁴ A. Paasi, "The Institutionalisation of Regions," p. 125.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

time-space specific past which does not diverge historically or symbolically from the regions or nation-states of the present...¹⁵⁷

Furthermore, the emergence of a name: "...connects [the region's] image with the regional consciousness of the inhabitants and outsiders ..."¹⁵⁸ This stage is:

...more explicitly associated with consciousness of the inhabitants [and] depends crucially on the communication based relationship between institutional and individual practices ... this sphere carries with it the history and traditions of the society and reproduces social consciousness and, as a part of this, a regional consciousness...¹⁵⁹

Generally speaking, early tourism literature positions Cairns as the base from which the traveller can view the wonders of the region, particularly the Atherton Tableland. While acknowledging its attractions such as the Crystal Cascades, the sugar mills, the Cook Highway to Port Douglas and Browns Bay, much was made of Cairns' 'Eastern feeling,' "...the similarity of scenery and atmosphere and the vivid contrasts of light and colour..."¹⁶⁰ Cairns was seen as the "...portal to the scenic splendours of the Hinterland... Kuranda and the Atherton Tableland..."¹⁶¹ Although Cairns attracted epithets such as 'Pearl of Australia,' these commentaries usually detailed the wonders of the Atherton Tableland rather than of Cairns.¹⁶²

It is difficult to appreciate from a distance of 90 years how well known the Atherton Tablelands were as a region. The 'natural wealth' of the Tablelands was identified by the 1880s,¹⁶³ a theme taken up later by tourism literature that both praised the progress of

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 – 126.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 – 126.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁶⁰ Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB), *Cairns & Hinterland: Queensland*, (Brisbane, 1938), no page number.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² See "Pearl of Australia: northern beauty spots," *Cairns Post*, 16 July 1930, p. 4.

¹⁶³ W.H. Traill, *Historical Sketch of Queensland*, (Sydney, 1974), pp. 95 – 96.

clearing of the rainforest for settlement and agriculture and lamented "...the passing of [the] grand forests..."¹⁶⁴ The fame of the Tablelands was such that it was able to stand alone with no reference needed to Cairns, for example for travellers to know where it was located: a full-page advertisement trumpets the beauties of the steamer trip along the Queensland coast to the Cairns hinterland. No mention is made of Cairns and the author's emphasis on certain words indicates that these attractions are well known or they are being emphasised to increase public awareness of their existence:

...The ATHERTON and HERBERTON TABLELANDS, 2000 to 3000 feet above sea level ... bracing climate, rich soil, tropical vegetation and scrubs full of magnificent timber. The BARRON FALLS and TULLY FALLS have no equal in Australia...¹⁶⁵

The positioning of the 'Atherton Tablelands' in tourism literature as a separate entity from Cairns was well established by the 1950s. Indeed, the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau's popular 7 day 'Tropic Wonderland Tour' from Cairns was comprised of mostly Tableland attractions.¹⁶⁶

The fading of the 'Atherton Tablelands' as a recognisable attraction appears to coincide with the demise of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau's monopoly over itineraries and images of the region during the 1960s. This decade also saw the rise of car ownership and the emergence of privately owned booking agencies and motoring

¹⁶⁴ QGTB, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ Advertisement titled "Queensland, Australia's Winter Paradise: exquisite and enthralling scenery: mild and bracing climate," *Bulletin*, 25 June 1911, p. 37.

¹⁶⁶ Attractions visited on this tour included Green Island, Paronella Park, Yungaburra, Tully Falls, Hypipamee Crater, the 'Jungle' at Malanda, Malanda Falls, Lake Eacham, Tinaroo Falls Dam, Atherton, the Curtain Fig Tree, Lake Barrine, the Gillies and Palmerston Highways, Crystal Cascades, the Kuranda railway trip, Kuranda, Mossman and Port Douglas via the Cook Highway, Lake Placid and the House of 10,000 Shells in Cairns. C. Lack (Ed), *Queensland: daughter of the sun: a record of a century of responsible government*, (Brisbane, 1959), pp. 9 – 11.

organisations,¹⁶⁷ allowing travellers more control over where they went and what they saw. By the 1970s a variety of tours of the region, in addition to the Tablelands, were available including Port Douglas and the Mossman Gorge, Innisfail, Paronella Park, the Boulders and Nerada Tea Plantation, Dunk Island and Cape Tribulation.¹⁶⁸ These well publicised and organised tours would have considerably diluted the power of the label 'Atherton Tableland.' At the same time, tourism had become the second most important industry to the Cairns economy,¹⁶⁹ and governments were encouraging infrastructure development, most of which was in Cairns: construction of the Hayles Terminal to service Green Island; beautification of the city environs; construction of caravan parks and motels; and advertising campaigns which directed tourist attention to the Great Barrier Reef rather than the Atherton Tableland. This trend was exacerbated by the opening of the Cairns international airport in 1984. Today the label 'Atherton Tableland' is no longer relevant for tourists. In the last twelve months Tablelands tourism interests have re-named the area 'Cairns Highlands' in tourism literature, in an effort to align itself with the phenomenally successful brand 'Cairns.'

MacCannell sees tourism as an essential part of the development of regional consciousness. Certain attractions are institutionalised on a regional scale, lending them a veneer of 'authenticity' which makes them more appealing to tourists. MacCannell views the actual act of visiting the attraction by tourists as less important than "...the *image* or the *idea* of society..."¹⁷⁰ that the act of visiting generates. For example, visiting the

¹⁶⁷ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 92 – 93.

¹⁶⁸ *Queensland Scenic Tours*, (Cairns, 1973), no page number.

¹⁶⁹ Australian National Travel Association, *Travel Industry Appraisal and Recommendations: the North Queensland Region*, July 1971, p. i – 1.

¹⁷⁰ D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: a new theory of the leisure class*, (New York, 1976), p. 14.

Barron Falls is still the 'done thing' despite the experience being much diminished due to the construction of the Barron Falls Hydro-electricity scheme in the 1950s.

The identification of symbols that make the region a concrete place, something people can form an emotional attachment to, as opposed to an abstract or political idea is important. This 'image building' process flourished during the 19th and early 20th centuries and can be discerned in early tourism literature. Prior to 1920, Cairns was, somewhat vaguely in many instances, described as being located in 'the North' or 'the tropics.'¹⁷¹ Generally speaking it was viewed as the place by which the Atherton Tablelands, particularly the Barron Falls, was accessed. Much of the tourism literature emphasised the scenery and health benefits of a cruise along the 'Grand Canal,' a return trip taking a month if travelling from Melbourne.

After 1930 the region still tended to be referred to as 'the North' but now it was an elaborately adorned descriptor urging potential travellers to 'Go North' for warmth and exoticism: "...North Queensland, land of beauty and romance...where West meets East, where the North comes shining down to greet the South..."¹⁷² and "...Cairns and its hinterland [is a] land of adventure and romance... the Northern Riviera..."¹⁷³ The Department of Railways used the allure of 'the North' and terms including 'sunshine' to promote its train service between Brisbane and Cairns:

¹⁷¹ Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau (QGIB), *Up North: a woman's journey through tropical North Queensland*, (Brisbane, pre 1920), no page number.

¹⁷² QGTB, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 2.

¹⁷³ QGTB, *Cairns and Hinterland, North Queensland*, no page number.

...the Sunshine Route to the Wonderland of the North. Travel to...the Wonderland of the North... [along] the Sunshine route... [a] sunlit road of adventure and romance...¹⁷⁴

Victor Kennedy captured the allure of the region and was instrumental in positioning 'the North' in popular consciousness in his popular travel book and numerous articles in southern newspapers and magazines. He repeats many of the labels and concepts of the tourism literature:

...they have two household sayings up there in what they called the Farthest North. One ("The Call of the North") is generally believed to define such a wistful longing to those who have left it, that they must return to it. Nor is it an unsubstantiated belief, and many are they who have halted a while to heed it; to hear again the sweet low song of the Northland; to glimpse once more the gold of its sunlight and the charming aesthetic revelry that seemed to have been merged in the best of long ago.

To the unfit – those who have never seen its peculiar beauties and have never breathed the rich air of its long springtime; who have never watched the strange expanse of moon in the Gap of Murray Prior or gilding the rugged peak of Bellenden Ker; who have never seen the dark still waters of Trinity Bay transformed to a shimmering sheet by the fully risen moon; or have never loitered awhile to sense the air of romance that combines, in one stupendous whole, the multitude of colours staining the valleys and the gorges; or who have never heard the roaring, tossing and melodious waterfalls that abound north of the Tropic of Capricorn – to these (the unfit) the other and oft-repeated phrase, "Too long in the North," has its own peculiar measure of appeal...

But the special appeal of the Cairns Wonderland is to the traveller, the seeker of an ideal holiday. She is calling to thousands who have never seen her. Her fame has gone abroad to the men [sic] who travel for knowledge, for beauty and for health. Those thousands come yearly to kneel at her gates where only a few came in the years ago... This call – this lure – is the echo, or maybe is the origin, of that greater call that comes up from the ocean as it washes restlessly against Queensland's thousand miles of coral reef. How many sea-going vessels of all rigs and all civilisations have been beached and bleached upon her far-scattered coral sand banks. Can the reef speak of lost and lordly warring tribes or vanished social organisations? Perhaps not, but who knows? But it can sing of romance – of beauty – of possibilities...¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ QGTB, *The Sunshine Route along the coast to Cairns*, (Brisbane, 1935), no page number.

¹⁷⁵ V. Kennedy, *By Range and River in the Queensland Tropics*, (Cairns, 1930), pp. 8 – 10.

Descriptions such as these sought to combine 'the North' with ideas such as the 'exotic,' adventure and nature.

According to Saarinen little distinction needs to be drawn between territorial and symbolic shapes, that is, the first and second stages, as:

...destinations are distinguished from their surroundings and from other destinations more or less conceptually, without physical or territorial boundaries...¹⁷⁶

These two stages are in fact seen to merge to form a 'discourse of region,' whereby the socio-spatial meanings and representations characterising the destination are produced and reproduced. Regional images of landscape are quickly caught up in a national language of types and icons. The 'discourse of region' can be examined and analysed through travelogues, regional literature, tourist advertisements and other media representations. These and the tourists themselves make "... the natural and cultural features of the destination known [while] the process stereotypes and modifies the socio-spatial representations [of the destination]..."¹⁷⁷ Issues of authenticity, the creation and perpetuation of myths, and image making are relevant to this discourse and are applied to the Cairns region in this study.

The third stage of Paasi's theory, that of the development of institutions and institutional shape, reflects the political and economic processes that produce what he calls a 'discourse of development.' He sees Butler's Life Cycle as valuable in providing a descriptive framework for this stage, with similar caveats to those identified above.

¹⁷⁶ J. Saarinen, "The social construction of tourist destinations," p. 159.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

However, Paasi views this stage as the 'development phase' due to the emphasis of participants, whether at a regional, national or international level, on the promotion of tourism and sees that a

...region is linked by its institutional shape to a larger regional and economic structure, and finally to the world economy and politics, as inseparable parts of these...¹⁷⁸

Cairns' relationship with tourism promotion bodies such as the Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau (QGIB) until 1929 and the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB) thereafter, illustrates this structure. The marketing and advertising of the Region's beauty spots was managed by these agencies and they became very influential in developing tourism infrastructure and collecting and disseminating images. Along with shipping companies, the Bureau monopolised the organisation of the industry until the 1960s, particularly in terms of itineraries and length of time spent in the region. This monopoly was not unchallenged by local interests, and local promotion bodies both fought and co-operated with the Bureau in an effort to have more influence over how the Region was presented and portrayed to potential travellers.

Based on the idea that destinations are social constructs subject to a constant process of transformation, the framework highlights the place of hegemonic discourses in the transformation process.¹⁷⁹ Saarinen's study highlighted the role of non-local actors, the commercialisation of indigenous land and natural resources by the tourist industry, and the 'inauthentic' representation of local culture in souvenirs, postcards, brochures and advertisements in the transformation process.¹⁸⁰ This helps to understand how early

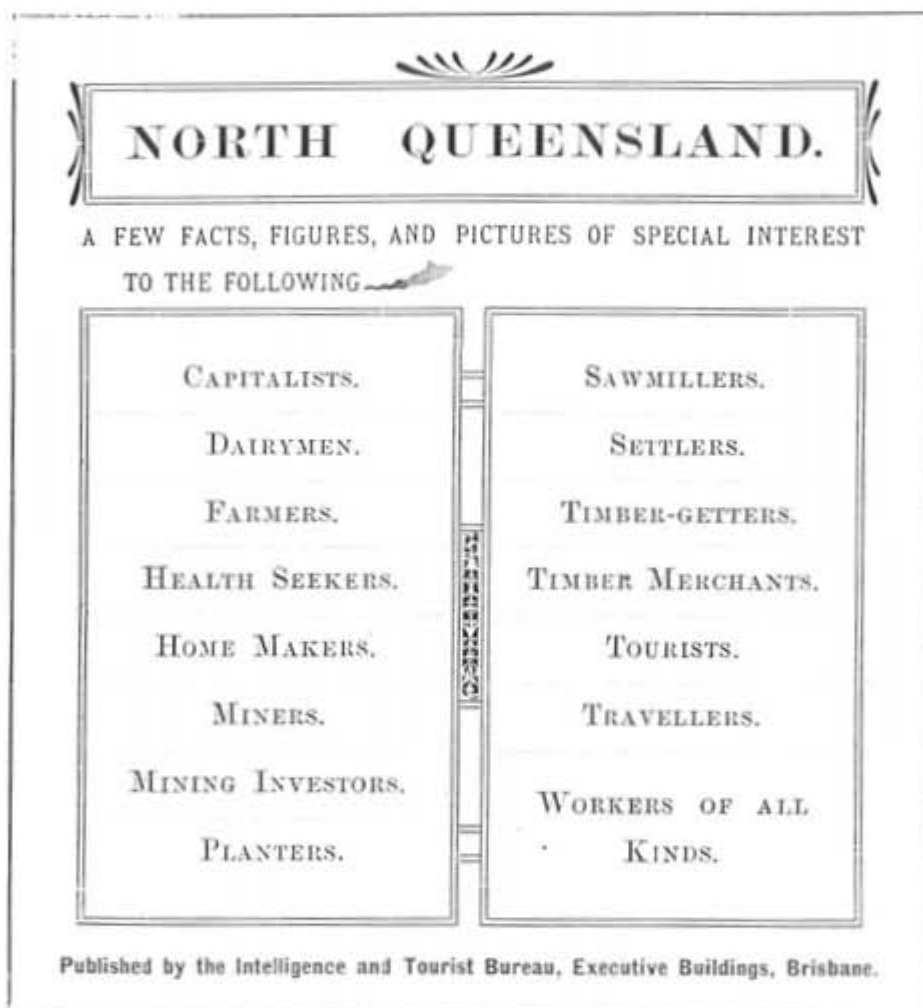
¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

representations of Cairns' Aborigines, while not common, were used to convey the region's exoticism and difference.

The role of non-local institutions such as government departments in tourism development was influential. The Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau was charged with promoting Queensland. Its primary role was to attract investment and migrants but other types of travellers were targeted also as is seen in one of their earliest pamphlets. (see Figure 1.1) The images contained within publications such as these were controlled by the government and served to support the colonial process. As such, images which expressed the social and cultural norms of the times, situated in recognisable landscapes, were the most successful in attracting migrants and travellers alike. Economic benefits of tourism aside, governments are still very aware and



NORTH QUEENSLAND.

A FEW FACTS, FIGURES, AND PICTURES OF SPECIAL INTEREST
TO THE FOLLOWING.

<p>CAPITALISTS.</p> <p>DAIRYMEN.</p> <p>FARMERS.</p> <p>HEALTH SEEKERS.</p> <p>HOME MAKERS.</p> <p>MINERS.</p> <p>MINING INVESTORS.</p> <p>PLANTERS.</p>	<p>SAWMILLERS.</p> <p>SETTLERS.</p> <p>TIMBER-GETTERS.</p> <p>TIMBER MERCHANTS.</p> <p>TOURISTS.</p> <p>TRAVELLERS.</p> <p>WORKERS OF ALL KINDS.</p>
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Published by the Intelligence and Tourist Bureau, Executive Buildings, Brisbane.

Figure 1.1: Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau's advertisement for migrants, travellers and tourists. (QGIB, *North Queensland Australia*, circa 1907)

interested in the messages that can be transmitted through tourism imagery. Today, Davidson and Spearitt see that:

...governments have taken to using tourism as a way of providing a *de facto* ministry of popular culture. In addition to offering bread and circuses, exemplified by governmental wooing of the Grand Prix to Melbourne, tourism has also been seen as a way of sending messages, of backing up new policies with tangible signs...¹⁸¹

Paasi's final stage, the achievement of an established role, refers to the stage of institutionalisation in which a region:

...has acquired an identity which comprises a material basis and socially constructed representations. The iconographic meaning and history of the destination are continually produced anew in order to attract tourists and to distinguish the region from other destinations. This established role is not, in one interpretation, an independent discursive structure, but the result of an encounter between the discourses of region and development, an abstraction reflecting the present identity of the destination. Like the ... idea of hegemonic culture, this identity contains features from the present, traces of the past and signs of future development. Thus it becomes important to be able to describe and analyse the processes through which the destination and its representations are constructed, named, framed and elevated, enshrined and reproduced mechanically and socially...¹⁸²

In other words, the history of the destinations and their images will be part of the tourism cultural landscape.

¹⁸¹ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. xxii – xxiii.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 159 – 160.

In summary, economic models such as Butler's Life Cycle model are less important than those which look at conceptual developments. For the economics of tourism core-periphery relations as explained by Keller and Getz are probably more important in this study. The Cairns region due to its geographical isolation from southern cities was in a peripheral and dependent role from the outset. The region's relationship with England during colonial times was mediated through Sydney and Brisbane, placing it in the unenviable position of double dependency and peripherality. However, Cairns occupied the core position in the region and all other parts of the study area were further disadvantaged. The same type of core/periphery pattern can be discerned in the development of attractions on the Atherton Tableland, the Port Douglas area, Chillagoe and the Innisfail area, *vis-à-vis* Cairns.

When analysing the development of a tourism cultural landscape using an image based approach, frameworks such as Saarinen's and Paasi's appear to be more useful. This flexible framework allows for the intangible aspects of attractions and the region to emerge. Attractions or places are able to be defined individually through personal interpretation before being interpreted collectively as part of the Cairns region. Particularly valuable are Paasi's first two stages of his theory which merge to form a 'discourse of region,' a discourse which examines ideas of image and myth making, and authenticity through analysis of travel and tourism literature.

The idea of 'authenticity' in tourism

As noted earlier by Relph and Wall, the idea of 'authenticity' is problematic in relation to tourism. It is nebulous by nature and as with most ideas associated with perception and context, it is highly subjective, although not beyond analysis or description. The debate about authenticity began with Boorstin's (1964) analysis of the pseudo-event whereby the mass of tourists travel isolated from their hosts and environment, within an environmental bubble:

...The tourist is said to find pleasure in inauthentic, contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying pseudo-events and disregarding the 'real' world. Over time the images generated within tourism come to constitute a self-perpetuating system of illusions, which may appear as quaint to the local inhabitants as they do the tourists themselves...¹⁸³

Turner and Ash elaborated on the idea of a touristic bubble seeing that during the 1970s tourists were relieved of responsibility of their actions and were transported into a "...highly circumscribed world of the tourist..."¹⁸⁴ manufactured by travel agents, tour operators and hoteliers.

MacCannell made the first attempt at a theoretical discussion of tourism in 1973.

According to Cohen:

...he was the first sociologist to anchor the study of tourism in the mainstream of sociological theory, by relating his analysis to the work of Marx, Durkheim, Levi-Strauss, and Goffman in an effort to develop an ethnography of modernity...¹⁸⁵

MacCannell challenged Boorstin's idea of tourists being enclosed in an 'environmental bubble' seeking a pseudo-event, maintaining:

¹⁸³ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 10.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ E. Cohen, "Traditions in the qualitative sociology of tourism," p. 33.

...that tourists embody a quest for authenticity; they are a kind of contemporary pilgrim, especially to view the 'real lives' of others...¹⁸⁶

The modern tourist according to MacCannell is akin to the traditional pilgrim, as he argues that one of the most important changes brought about by 'modern society' is the narrowing of the range of social experiences available to people in their everyday lives. Associated with this is a change in people's perception of truth or authenticity.¹⁸⁷ He believes that all tourists seek authenticity, and that:

...this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred ... [whereby the tourist seeks] authenticity in other 'times' and other 'places' away from that person's everyday life...¹⁸⁸

Cohen challenged views such as these by maintaining that there are a wide variety of types of tourist experience. To identify and examine tourist experience he developed:

...a typology based on parallels drawn from the sociology of religion, noting that the 'experiential,' 'experimental' and 'existential' tourists depend neither upon environmental bubbles nor wish to avoid entirely the 'strangeness' of people and places being visited...¹⁸⁹

Following Goffman's observation of the behaviour of stage actors MacCannell suggested that there are levels or degrees of authenticity and they occur in different locations: the 'back regions' or 'off-stage'; the 'front regions' or 'on-stage'; or involve 'staged authenticity.' This analogy broadly means that:

...in modern settings, society is established through cultural representations of reality at a level above that of interpersonal relations ... Now it is often necessary to act out reality and truth...¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ G. Moscardo & P. Pearce, "Historic theme parks: an Australian experience in authenticity," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1986, vol. 13, pp. 468 – 469.

¹⁸⁸ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*, (London, 1990), p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 10.

¹⁹⁰ G. Moscardo & P. Pearce, "Historic theme parks," p. 469.

Following on from this he suggests that social behaviour in the 'front regions' or 'on-stage' can be likened to an actor's performance where the audience are attuned to "... viewing the performance as authentic or inauthentic, sincere or insincere, believable or not believable..."¹⁹¹ It is in the 'back regions' or 'off-stage' where actors prepare their performance and are in a state of relaxation away from the audience, that have become connected with

... ideas of truth, intimacy, and authenticity, and have an important role in establishing group solidarity. Here is where ... [the] tourist enters the structure. Tourists are searching for authentic experiences and for the real lives of others, [that is] for back regions...¹⁹²

MacCannell believes that 'back' and 'front' regions are not easily differentiated and for this reason the tourist industry has developed the third area of 'staged authenticity.' In other words, the industry has recognised the tourists' desire for the authentic, the 'back regions,' and has established pseudo back regions for them. MacCannell sees that 'staged authenticity' results from "...the social relations of tourism and not from an individualistic search for the inauthentic..."¹⁹³ The modern Tjapukai Park is an example of themed tourism or MacCannell's 'back regions' which according to Smith would be successful because the visitor has the opportunity to see at least some aspects of the indigenous culture while minimising the effects on the host community:¹⁹⁴

...Although only a reconstruction of the life-style [the tourists] had hoped to observe [the attraction offers] a more accurate ethnographic view than is reflected in the modern native culture, and [allows] the visitor the freedom to wander and photograph at will ... [furthermore such attractions] have the great advantage of structuring tourist visits to a site away from the daily lives of ordinary people...¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ V. Smith, "Introduction," in V. Smith (Ed), *Hosts and Guests: the anthropology of tourism*, (Philadelphia, 1989), p. 10.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Related to the idea of 'authenticity' is MacCannell's 'stages of sight sacrilisation' which he developed to "...specify in detail the linkages between the attitudes and behaviour [of individuals] and concrete institutional settings..."¹⁹⁶ He sees that in the modern world institutional support is required to mark attractions as significant. According to MacCannell sights are transformed into tourist attractions through five stages of 'sight sacrilisation': naming; framing and elevation; enshrinement; mechanical reproduction; and social reproduction.

The first stage of 'naming' occurs when a place such as a National Park or a monument is identified or marked as worthy of preservation. This involves "...authentication and reports testifying to the object's aesthetic, historical, monetary, recreational, and social values..."¹⁹⁷ Markers or pieces of information about the place are created by government bodies, travel writers, the owner and others and are packaged for touristic consumption.¹⁹⁸ During the second stage of 'framing and elevation,' the object or sight is framed or surrounded by an official boundary. It is then put on display or opened up to visitors, that is, elevated.¹⁹⁹

The third stage of 'enshrinement' is entered when the framing material, that is, the boundary, has itself entered the first stage of sacrilisation. In other words pieces of information are being generated about the boundary, thereby marking it off from other similar objects.²⁰⁰ MacCannell cites examples such as Sainte-Chapelle, a Parisian church

¹⁹⁶ D. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p.43.

¹⁹⁷ E. Fine & J. Haskell Speer, "Tour Guide Performance as Sight Sacrilisation," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1985, vol. 12, p. 78.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

built to house a sacred relic, which then became a tourist attraction. In the Australian context, the Australian War Memorial in Canberra which memorialises the ANZACs is an example of 'enshrinement' in this country.

The fourth stage of sight sacrilisation involves the 'mechanical reproduction' of the sacred object through the creation of photographs, models or effigies, which are themselves valued and displayed. It is this phase, according to MacCannell, which is most responsible for motivating tourists to travel to find the 'real' object. Once there the tourist has both the copy and 'the real thing.'²⁰¹ The final stage of 'social reproduction' occurs when "...groups, cities, and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions..."²⁰² The Eureka flag and the Eureka League according to Davidson and Spearitt provide an Australian example of this final stage as they "...point to a symbolic site, itself sacrilised as a sight till recently only by a single-columned monument..."²⁰³ As noted earlier, in the Cairns region in recent years the Atherton Tablelands has renamed itself the Cairns Highlands in an effort to associate itself with Cairns which is recognised world-wide as a tourism destination.

Davidson and Spearitt see that the process of sight sacrilisation has only just begun in Australia. They see this as being due to tourism "...having been overwhelmingly domestic throughout our history...[and a] hidden industry..."²⁰⁴ Their ironic description of the tourism cultural landscape points to a progressive loss of the distinctive aspects of

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. xxvi.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

such a landscape, aspects which set Australia apart and lured travellers for well over 100 years:

...international visitors even now [in 2000] comprise only one-tenth of Australian tourist traffic, but they account for almost one-third of the income. In the eyes of the industry, a lot of ground has to be made up. So up go the signposts, signifying the sight, marking the marker, even if it is only an obscure cairn saying the Major Mitchell passed this way. The landscape must also be filled. In recent years there have gone up, among other things, a Big Pineapple, a Big Cow, a giant Koala, and even a giant earthworm. These are not generally museums, but punctuation marks in empty tracts; not so much pagan idols as icons for a postmodern culture, specialising in selling souvenirs of themselves. They are too preposterous to be taken seriously, and in their artificiality almost send up the idea of a site. The sight alone is all they offer. These *monstres sacrés* littering the landscape are a peculiar variant of... [a] postmodern concern, the simulacrum. We are meant to recognise them as archetypal, as having elaborated the essential characteristics of the subject even as it caricatures them...²⁰⁵

The Cairns region too has its 'big' punctuation marks on the landscape with the 'big peanut' on the Atherton Tableland, the 'big marlin' at Stockland Shopping Centre in Cairns and the Captain Cook statue on Sheridan Street, Cairns' main highway north. (see Chapter Four, Figure 4.3)

MacCannell's notion of authenticity has been extensively critiqued and revised over the last 25 years. The value of MacCannell's endeavor is significant. One of his major contributions to the study of tourism according to Cohen is that he:

...distinguished between a sociological and an ideological approach to tourism. Thus, in principle, he opened the field to analysis from an unbiased sociological and anthropological perspective –although his own perspective did not necessarily fully live up to this ideal...²⁰⁶

Cohen challenged MacCannell's assertion that modern people are alienated from their environment to the extent that they seek authenticity elsewhere and so become a tourist.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, xxvii.

²⁰⁶ E. Cohen, "Traditions in qualitative sociology," p. 41.

Cohen sees that not all people are so alienated and that there are in any case degrees of alienation. He refutes MacCannell's stance regarding the totality of the experience of alienation and authenticity and posited that:

...a modern individual who is attached to the Center of his own society (and not alienated from it) will strive to 'recreate' himself from the strains which it provokes in the recesses of the Other, beyond the boundaries of his world. He will seek *recreational* experiences with little concern for their authenticity ... By contrast, a modern individual who is completely alienated from his own society, and seeks an alternative to it, will tend to embrace the Other beyond the boundaries of his world, and turn it into his 'elective Center.' Such a tourist will seek *existential* experiences, and be deeply concerned with their authenticity... this type goes beyond MacCannell's conception of the tourist. His tourist merely seeks a vicarious experience of the authentic life of others, without embracing their life as his own 'elective Center.' With all his alienation, MacCannell's tourist does not strive to abandon modernity. He is the *experiential* tourist par excellence, an observer, who though concerned about the authenticity of the Other, which he experiences, does not identify with it...²⁰⁷

It would appear through examination of the literature and images available regarding early travellers and tourists to the Cairns area, that the majority were seeking an environment in which they could 're-create' themselves and enjoy recreational experiences, or following MacCannell they were the experiential tourist. These needs of the potential traveller were identified and created by the tourist industry, and Cairns with its natural landscape, modified by a number of individuals to meet the picturesque and Romantic ideal, allowed the cultural tourism landscape to develop as it did. As alienated people themselves yet a part of their own culture, these individuals would have known what appealed to others. In the Cairns region a number of attraction owners, particularly those offering Romantic and picturesque experiences such as John Dick's 'Fairyland Tea Gardens' near Kuranda would have been alienated from European culture by migration. It is likely that John Dick, a photographer from Charters Towers, held unusual views of

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

the 'scrub' that set him apart from local contemporaries. He was motivated by conservation concerns and an artistic vision²⁰⁸ rather than just turning a profit. Other attraction owners were similarly motivated including James English of the 'Jungle' at Malanda, and George Curry of Lake Barrine.

Pearce and Moscardo sought to further develop MacCannell's idea of tourist space and authenticity and see that it is:

...necessary to distinguish between the authenticity of the setting and the authenticity of the persons gazed upon; and to distinguish between the diverse elements of the tourist experience which are of importance to the tourist in question...²⁰⁹

This contrasts with Crick's view that there is a sense in which all cultures are 'staged' and are in a certain sense inauthentic. Cultures are invented, remade and their elements reorganised regardless of whether they are to be viewed by tourists. From at least the mid-nineteenth century according to McCrone:

...travel to see the key sites, texts, exhibitions, buildings, landscapes and achievements of a society has been part of the development of a national culture. Almost all cultures have invented (and re-invented) an 'authentic' culture, with the founding of national museums, the development of national artists, architects, musicians, playwrights, novelists, historians and archaeologists and the location of the nation's achievements within various world exhibitions...²¹⁰

Hence, it is not clear why the apparently inauthentic staging for the tourist is so very different from what happens in cultures anyway.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ See Batch no. 1: Purchase of Fairyland Natural Garden, in A/13019. Department of Railways General Correspondence File, QSA.

²⁰⁹ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, p. 9.

²¹⁰ McCrone, cited by J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 12.

²¹¹ J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, p. 9.

Commentators such as Feifer see tourists as having evolved into sophisticated consumers.

She speaks of the 'post-tourist' who:

... knows that he [sic] is a tourist: not a time traveller when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when he stays on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when he visits a native compound. Resolutely 'realistic,' he cannot evade his condition of outsider. But, having embraced that condition, he can stop struggling against it and ... then he can turn it around... This modern tourist can partake of the attractions offered in the travel literature, but once ... freed from the Romantic straining after [the] high moments, he can enjoy the connective tissue between 'attractions' as much as the vaunted attractions themselves...²¹²

This shift in tourists' perception was beginning to occur by 1960 in the Cairns region. A half day bus tour of Cairns was operating, taking in the sights of the city and the 'House of 10,000 Shells.'²¹³ This allowed the tourist a birds-eye-view of the context, of Cairns and the inkling perhaps that:

... the glossy tourist brochure full of colourful promises is inaccessible, a way of making 'reality' stand still or a means by which a 'reality' ... that is felt to be shrunk, hollowed out, perishable [or] remote... may be enlarged...²¹⁴

Perhaps the most comprehensive critique of tourism theory in general is provided by Malcolm Crick. He views MacCannell's *The Tourist* as a "...dazzling collage of intellectual traditions brought together to elucidate the meaning of tourism..."²¹⁵ Crick queries MacCannell's stance in terms of its generality and questions whose meanings he is pursuing in his discussion of the idea of authenticity. Crick is quite vehement when he states:

²¹² M. Feifer, *Tourism in history: from Imperial Rome to the present*, (New York, 1985), pp. 270 - 271.

²¹³ QGTB, *Half Day Tours Round and About Cairns, 10 April - 30 September 1960*, (Brisbane, 1960), no page number.

²¹⁴ S. Sontag, *On Photography*, p. 163.

²¹⁵ M. Crick, "Tourists, Locals and Anthropologists: quizzical reflections on 'otherness' in tourist encounters and in tourism research," *Australian Cultural History*, 1991, no. 10, p. 8.

... to say anything about tourists in general... that for instance, they are after 'authenticity' ... is palpable nonsense. [This framework stresses] only one characteristic of a highly complex phenomenon and, therefore, underestimates facets of tourism which must be included in any adequate description...²¹⁶

The ideas surrounding the notion of authenticity pose interesting dilemmas for the identification of cultural heritage sites. Bruner examined the conflicting senses of the authentic surrounding New Salem, a town where Abraham Lincoln spent time during the 1830s. He discerned four senses of the authentic:

... first, there is the authentic in the sense of a small town that 'looks' like it has appropriately aged over the previous 170 years, whether the buildings are actually that old or not. Second, there is the town that appears as it would have looked in the 1830s, that is, mostly comprised of 'new' buildings. Third, there are the buildings and artifacts that literally 'date' from the 1830s and have been there since then. Fourth, there are those buildings and artifacts that have been authorised as 'authentic' by the Trust that oversees 'heritage' within that town...²¹⁷

Urry sees that the implication of this is that:

... the 'search for authenticity' is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism. There are multiple discourses and processes of the 'authentic'...²¹⁸

This is echoed by authors such as Cohen, Pearce and Moscardo, and Salamone amongst others, who propose that authenticity is "... a quality that emerges from an individual's experience and is a perceived rather than an objective feature of tourist attractions..."²¹⁹

Analysis of the notion of authenticity was also built upon by Waller and Lea who used Moscovici's concept of social representations to broaden perceptions of authenticity to encompass multidimensional aspects.²²⁰ A number of commentators including Evans-

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²¹⁷ J. Urry, "The Sociology of Tourism," p. 11.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ G. Moscardo, "Cultural and Heritage Tourism: the great debates," in B. Faulkner, G. Moscardo & E. Laws (Eds), *Tourism in the 21st Century: lessons from experience*, (London, 2001), p. 8.

²²⁰ Moscovici argues that "...much social behaviour and interaction is guided by, or based upon, social representations. Social representations are the theories and stereotypes that people develop and use to understand the world around them. People often adopt the dominant social representations of the social

Pritchard, Littrell, Daniel, Teo and Yeoh, Waller and Lee, and Wait, consider that preoccupation with the tourist's experience was futile and posit that:

... what is real to tourists, and consumers in general, has been considered a more relevant definition of authenticity. Namely, felt attributes of intensity and transformation, the 'presence' of history and morality, the perceived commitment of performers, immersion, and the context of production...²²¹

This is particularly pertinent now that heritage attractions are increasingly "...built around their connections with people and events rather than on the intrinsic qualities of the place..."²²² Included within this category according to Herbert are sites of battles and speeches or declarations, and similar events, where the event or the individual gives meaning to the place rather than the fabric. Related to this type of attraction are those places connected with writers both in their novels and during their lifetime. This association produces a part-real, part-imaginary world associated with literary places. These places are suffused with meaning as "...the writer infuses the novel with a sense of place but the novel in turn adds meaning to a place..."²²³ and Herbert questions how the criteria of authenticity can be applied to places where the two worlds intermingle.²²⁴ Herbert's concerns can be applied to Dunk Island, the home of E.J. Banfield and his wife and the place from which he wrote *Confessions of a Beachcomber* and *My Tropic Isle*. In these books he shared his observations of nature, the legends and customs of local Aborigines, and recounted his own experiences.²²⁵ This motivated English writer J.W. Frings to visit Banfield in the 1920s as he searched for his own 'Island of Dreams.'²²⁶

groups they belong to. In this sense social representations are both outcomes and mechanisms of socialisation and components of group identity..." *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²²¹ R. Prentice, "Revisiting Heritage," p. 167.

²²² D. Herbert, "Heritage as Literary Place," p. 32.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 – 34.

²²⁵ D. Heenan, *Dunk Island and Beaver Cay*, pp. 22- 23.

²²⁶ J.W. Frings, *My Island of Dreams*, (London, circa 1920s), pp. 8 – 9.

Other writers and artists followed searching for unspoilt nature, exotic island paradise, adventure and freedom.

Recognition of the inter-related nature of the notion of authenticity has been emphasised in recent times by cultural geographers who tend not to view the real and the imaginary worlds as separate entities. Increasingly they view novels, poems, travel guides, maps and regional monographs as belonging together and see them "... sharing the role of portraying place...and different degrees of objectivity..."²²⁷

Applying the idea of 'authenticity' to the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region indicates that the presentation of a place reflects the ruling culture, not some inherent quality of the place. Changes in representations of the region over the last 100 years respond to whatever aesthetic was popular at the time: the picturesque, the Romantic, the paradisaical, the exotic, the tropical and the ecological. All are valid 'ways of seeing' the landscape but it is a vague idea associated with perception and context.

MacCannell's suggestion that there are degrees of authenticity has been critiqued and revised extensively over the last 25 years, resulting in the idea being applied to the host community, tourists, tourist attractions and culture, in an effort to describe an 'authentic touristic experience.' Authenticity has shifted from being a characteristic of the tourist attraction to one of the tourist's perception. Perhaps as Crick suggests 'authenticity' is but one characteristic of a highly complex phenomenon.²²⁸

²²⁷ D. Herbert, "Heritage as a Literary Place," p. 33.

²²⁸ E. Crick, "Tourists, Locals and Anthropologists," p. 9.

Conclusion

Analysing the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region is a complex undertaking that requires a critical approach to the various models and analyses available. Examination of this landscape is a very visual exercise requiring a reflexive and nuanced response. Discourses changed over time, changing the manner in which images and meanings were perceived, producing fractures and refraction in their representation as the composition of society changed economically, politically, culturally and socially. The role of literature and poetry in providing travel information and shaping meanings and images was supplanted as the travel industry became more organised with the introduction of statistical methods and establishment of national and international Tourist Boards.²²⁹ These factors had considerable impact upon the physical and perceptual tourism cultural landscape of the region due to their control over the dissemination of images, and their control of funding for tourism infrastructure such as caravan parks and tourist roads.²³⁰

Examination of a diverse range of literature, theories and models is required to understand both the complexity and the evolution of this landscape. Because the Cairns region has seen basic natural attractions and infrastructure originally built for local use and economic benefit overlaid with images for tourism, examination of the nature of image is important in assessing the tourist region. Milne, Grekin and Woodley see tourism as a means by which history, nature and tradition are placed within an ideological framework; a framework powerful enough to shape and reshape culture and nature. Sontag's material on photography helps to explain the visual images in the literature

²²⁹ J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European tourism, literature and the ways to 'culture,' 1800 – 1918*, (Melbourne, 1993), p. 17.

²³⁰ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel and Tourism*, (Melbourne, 1999), p. 278.

written about tourism in the Cairns region. Associated with image are issues of authenticity and the creation and perpetuation of myth. MacCannell's ideas regarding authenticity are useful when examining the tourism cultural landscape particularly when placed in juxtaposition with ideas of commentators such as Crick, who argues that even the most authentic experience must be inauthentic because visitors cannot share in the moral fabric of the visited. Wall's idea of the palimpsest aids our understanding of the way these images were layered on physical places that had evolved from local recreational use.

Urry and Rojek provide useful ideas regarding the perceptual and social nature of the tourism cultural landscape. They address the interplay between space, as place and region, and social structures, experiences and identity. The development of 'place' is an important component of this thesis due to the personal interpretation and actions of a number of owners or lessees in relation to their 'attraction.' Paasi's theory of the institutionalisation of regions, and modifications of the theory made by Saarinen, allow placement of individual attractions into a regional context, providing the framework to examine and analyse the emergence and development of the tourism cultural landscape of Cairns and its region.

CHAPTER 2: Themes in the Development of Tourism in Australia and North Queensland

Introduction

Tourism in Australia began around the same time as the first convict ships discharged their cargoes in the Australian colonies. Australian tourism was different due to the country's distance from Britain, its size and thin population, its lack of infrastructure and perceived lack of history. These deficits, particularly the lack of European history, meant that from the start images of the landscape were appropriated from Britain and elsewhere. Far North Queensland with its plethora of romantic tropical landscapes was something different again and parts of its landscape could be linked to images associated with the 'South Seas' and the mysterious East. Infrastructure associated with these attractions however tended to be low-key and similar to that found elsewhere.

The Cairns region, like much of Australia, followed tourism trends established in Britain such as health resorts in the mountains and later the beaches, and event based attractions such as hosting international sporting events, the 'Fun in the Sun' festival, and in the late 20th century the establishment of the Skyrail Rainforest Cableway and Tjapukai Cultural Park.

Cairns was an unusual tourist destination because of its proximity to the Great Barrier Reef, particularly Green and Dunk Islands. By the 1930s reef tourism was beginning gather momentum along with game fishing although it was hampered by access difficulties and a lack of infrastructure such as jetties.

The creation of tourism

Travel in ancient times was generally for military, religious or trade reasons which led to the development and redevelopment over three millennia of the infrastructure, technologies and components of a transport system; developments which eventually facilitated ease of travel and the idea of travel for pleasure. This was a slow process but by Roman times advances in road building and bridge construction, in conjunction with changing attitudes toward travel and the introduction of the idea of holidays for the elite, saw a burgeoning travel for pleasure industry emerging. Although travel became more difficult during the breakdown in centralised government between the 5th and 10th centuries, the notion of travel for pleasure was not lost. Pilgrimages for religious reasons were in fact often travel for pleasure.¹ Towner sees that the Grand Tour, a popular travel circuit for the elite from the 16th century to the early 19th century, purported to be for educational purposes, was in fact a resurgence of classical travel for recreation.² A significant change in motivation for travel occurred during the 16th century due to the influence of Renaissance intellectual trends such as humanism, philosophy and scientific thought; trends which challenged the Medieval view of the world. This resulted in the social elite of England needing to travel because the culture to which they aspired was located in Italy and later France. This pattern of travel reached its apogee in the 18th century. During the 19th century and early 20th century the Grand Tour changed its form somewhat due to the influence of the Romantic movement, which favoured rural and ‘sublime’ ‘wilderness’ landscapes over sites of great classical culture.³ The British

¹ See Chaucer's (c1345 – 1400) *Canterbury Tales*. J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. xviii.

² J. Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World*, (Brisbane, 1996), p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116 & 121.

social elite generally speaking continued to view their world through Italian and later French culture until the late 18th century when under the influence of British artists and writers, the English countryside was 're-discovered' and re-evaluated. This culminated in tours of Britain being incorporated into the Grand Tour.

During the 1600s visiting hot springs and spas, a health enhancing recreation dating back to Roman times, re-emerged. The most important and long lasting spas were located in Bath in Britain, Wiesbaden and Baden-Baden in Germany, and Vichy in France.⁴ The modern spa culture arose in the 18th century and peaked in the 19th century, supported by the royal courts and emerging consumer society in Europe. The spa waters were believed to be the antidote to Enlightenment diseases of civilization such as neurasthenia, stress and over-indulgence.⁵ Continental monarchs and other royalty frequented fashionable spas which were luxurious and elaborate in their architecture and the layout of their gardens. Endless diversions in the form of fireworks and fetes were produced for "... the jaded palates of aristocratic courtiers...",⁶ diversions which persisted even after the link between the court and spas began to weaken during the 18th century. Blackbourn also believes that the contribution by an emerging consumer culture was significant in its impact upon attitudes towards leisure and travel in general and spas in particular:

⁴ P. Pearce, P. Benckendorff & S. Johnstone, "Tourist attractions: evolution, analysis and prospects," in B. Faulkner, G. Moscardo & E. Laws (Eds), *Tourism in the 21st Century: lessons from experience*, (London, 2001), p. 113. Taking the waters had been a popular leisure and health enhancing practice up until the 5th century AD. Its popularity began to fade under the influence of Christianity, the followers of which considered preoccupation with the body as indulgent and sinful. It was not until after the 11th century Crusades that the practice began again when the expansion of the Ottoman Empire forced the Byzantine elite to seek refuge in the West. M. Dristas, "Water Culture and Leisure: from spas to beach tourism in Greece during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," in S. Anderson & B. Tabb (Ed), *Water, Leisure and Culture: European historical perspective*, (New York, 2002), p. 10.

⁵ D. Blackbourn, "Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-century Europe," in B. Anderson & B. Tabb (Eds), *Water Leisure and Culture*, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

... the spa reproduced an urban way of life in a rural setting: theatre, reading room, luxury shops, coffee house. Here in a concentrated form, was 'the world of goods' and a place where civilised ideas could be exchanged... it offered the satisfactions of urbanity to a growing public that wanted to consume and converse as well as take the cure...⁷

The middle classes began to visit spas, and the motives for visiting spas began to change during the 18th and 19th centuries. People were seeking health rather than aristocratic culture, and the water was considered most beneficial in the prevention of melancholia and hypochondria during the 18th century. By the 19th century people were becoming more medicalised. This change reflects the growing authority of spa doctors and the development of hospitals and sanatoriums in spa towns, and better techniques to chemically analyse the water.⁸ The spa as the main way of enjoying water-based recreation continued unabated, albeit in a more democratised form for the non-elite traveler, well into the 20th century and was not really displaced until after World War II.

Other types of resorts such as seaside resorts existed prior to the 1950s but they were not generally frequented in pursuit of water based recreation. In Britain they began developing in the mid 18th century amidst claims that drinking seawater and bathing in the sea had benefits for health. It was during this period that Brighton and Scarborough emerged to challenge the spa at Bath as a fashionable holiday destination. They too offered a wide range of attractions for the visitor including "... tea gardens, aviaries, aquaria, winter gardens, pier promenades and open-air entertainment..."⁹ Generally speaking, in Continental Europe sea water was considered to be dangerous and bathing

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹ P. Pearce et al, "Tourist Attractions," p. 113.

was undertaken by few individuals. Prior to the 20th century the beach was something one walked upon to admire the sea and landscapes.¹⁰ Attitudes toward water underwent a significant change after World War 2 and by the 1950s with technological advances in transportation, and social changes, the beach became a site of liberation and freedom.

The association of freedom of thinking with freedom of action, culminating in beach culture from the 1950s, was not a new one. This association was present in Victorian thinking from the beginning of the 19th century in relation to warmer climates. It applied particularly to the countries of the Far East and the South Pacific Islands, especially Tahiti.¹¹ These countries and islands stimulated a sense of the exotic 'other,' evoking images of Arcadia and Paradise with their freedom from the artificial restraints of respectable society, especially sexual freedom. This development was fuelled by earlier voyages of exploration and Rousseau's idea of the 'noble savage.' In North Queensland this association of freedom and the beach is best encapsulated by E.J. Banfield who moved to Dunk Island in 1897 for his health:

...the real significance of freedom here [on Dunk Island] is realised what matters is that London decrees a crease down the trouser leg if those garments are but of well-bleached blue dungaree? The spotless shirt, how paltry a detail when a light singlet is the only wear? Of what trifling worth dapper boots to feet made leathery by the contact with the clean, crisp, oatmeal-coloured sand. Here is no fetish about clothes; little concern for what we shall eat or what we shall drink. The man who has to observe the least of the ordinances of style knows not liberty. He is a slave; his dress betrayeth him and proclaims him base. There may be degrees of baseness. I am abject myself; but whensoever I revisit the haunts of men clad in the few light inaccomodating [sic] clothes that rationalism ordains, I rejoice and gloat over the slavery of those who have failed to catch even glimpses of the loveliness of liberty, who are yet afeared of opinion – 'that sour-breathed hag.' How can a man with hoop-like collar, starched to board-like texture, cutting

¹⁰ M Dristas, "Water, Culture and Leisure," p. 196.

¹¹ C. Ryan, "Stages, gazes and constructions of tourism," in C. Ryan (Ed), *The Tourist Experience*, (London, 2002), p. 13.

his jowl and sawing each side of his neck, be free? He may rejoice because he is a very lord among creation, and has trousers shortened by turning up the ninth part of a hair after London vogue, and may be proud of his laws and legislature, and even of his legislators, but to the tyrannous edge of his collar he is a slave. He can neither look this way nor that, nor up nor down, without being reminded that he has imposed upon himself an extra to the universal penalties of Adam...¹² This informality and disregard for convention can be seen at any beach from the 1920s onwards.

Mass travel for pleasure is considered to be a recent innovation with most commentators agreeing that Thomas Cook's organised railway tour in 1841 marks the beginning of what we now understand as mass tourism.¹³ Although the railway had been used since the 1820s to move large numbers of people it was Thomas Cook who saw the economic viability in organising groups of people for leisure. His methods included elements that are still used by the tourism industry today: a marketing campaign, a common fare and the use of specialized transport.¹⁴ Organized tours existed prior to Cook's initiative¹⁵ but Cook's railway tour ushers in the modern era of tourism along with the development of resort areas such as the Riviera, which only in the 19th century was able to match the resort areas of Roman times.

These were not the only influences on the development of tourism in Australia. By the 19th century Americans were perceiving 'wild nature' as something to be admired rather

¹²E.J. Banfield, *The Confessions of a Beachcomber*, (Hawthorn, 1974), pp. 171 – 172.

¹³Cook believed that places of interest should be viewed by the common people. J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. xix.

¹⁴B. Prideaux, "Links between transport and tourism – Past, Present and Future," in B. Faulkner, G. Moscardo & E. Laws (Eds), *Tourism in the 21st century: lessons from experience*, (London, 2000), p. 100.

¹⁵In the late 1400s for example it was possible to purchase an all-inclusive tour from Venice to the Holy Land. These tours included "shipping from Venice to Jaffa in the Holy Land, and return on a Venetian government licensed boat which had to undergo regular safety inspections ... [it included] all meals, guided tours throughout the Holy Land, fees, tolls and bribes." E. Berry, *An Application of Butler's Tourist Life Cycle Theory*, p. 16.

than feared. This attitude was influential in Australia along with America's early moves to preserve wilderness areas and create National Parks.¹⁶ Although Australia followed American trends toward preserving tracts of land within National Parks, Australians did not adopt these parks and the notion of 'wilderness' as a symbol of national identity until after World War II.¹⁷

Tourism development in Australia and North Queensland

Tourism in Australia according to Davidson and Spearitt began with early settlement,¹⁸ following trends established in Britain. However the colonial imperative was one of settling the land, taking priority over travel for pleasure and it was not until after World War One that Tourist Boards developed.¹⁹ Given Australia's distance from Britain, the difficulties in travelling between the Australian colonies, its diverse and novel landscapes, and demographic mix of convicts, officials and immigrants, regional and local differences in holiday-taking patterns were apparent early on. Compared to British tourism, the Australian experience tended to be localised, based on the natural environment, geographically limited and simple. Studies have tended to emphasise class relations when analyzing leisure patterns, seeing that the working class tended to follow the middle class and the middle class, the upper class.²⁰

¹⁶ J. Towner, *An Historical Geography*, p. 157.

¹⁷ See Chapter Six for a discussion on the development of National Parks in Australia.

¹⁸ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. xvii.

¹⁹ The world's first board of tourism was established in Italy in 1919. J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p. 16. State travel bureaux developed early: Tasmanian Tourist Association, 1893; NSW Intelligence Department, 1907; Queensland Intelligence Tourist Bureau, circa 1912. The Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) was established in Melbourne in 1929. J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 63, 68 & 79.

²⁰ J. Towner & G. Wall, "History and Tourism," in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1991, vol. 18, p. 75.

Tourism in Australia was burdened from the start by a lack of monuments, statues and discernible cultural history. In the preface to the 1883-1886 *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, editor Andrew Garran announced with a fine disregard for Aboriginal culture that

... Australia... has no part in the early history of the human race or in the development of its civilization ; it contains no traces of ever having been the seat of empire – no ruins, no mounds to indicate that it was the dwelling-place, in the far past, of industrious and fertile populations... For this reason Australia, though populated for centuries, was a blank history until it was discovered by Europeans...²¹

On the face of it, it would appear that the cultural aspects of the British and European travel tradition such as the Grand Tour had little relevance or application to Australia. However the government officials, explorers, natural scientists, and early immigrants were imbued to varying degrees with Enlightenment and early Romantic ideals, trends which influenced travel for pleasure in general. Their culturally conditioned images of the ‘sublime’ landscape, though, would have been difficult to apply to much of the Australian landscape although Romantic admiration for parts of it occurred early on such as the Blue Mountains. In 1882 a waterfall at Govett’s Leap in the Blue Mountain was described in *The Pictorial Guide to the Blue Mountains of New South Wales* in picturesque terms:

... this descending mass of water, white and misty as the driven snow, sways as the wind blows to and fro, like the veil of a bride; the vast height of the water-fall, the strong contrasts of colour and the undulating motion so produced imparting a very singular and most charming effect. When the sun attains to a certain altitude a rainbow plays for hours around the cloudy folds of this fairy veil...²²

²¹ Andrew Garran cited by T. Hughes-d’Aeth, in “Pretty as a picture,” pp. 101 – 102.

²² J.E.M. Russell, cited by K. Hartig, in “Images of the Blue Mountains,” p. 66.

Waterfalls were much admired in the 19th century as highly expressive of the Romantic vision and became popular attractions. The British and Europeans in their travels were pursuing idealised landscapes such as Romantic tropical islands and alpine grandeur. By 1900 Australians like their British counterparts were visiting limestone caves, mountain resorts, fern gullies, and spas, the latter in order to drink or bathe in curative waters. Far North Queensland could supply all of these.

Health resorts

Health was an important motivation for travel in Australia in the 1800s. Many of these early travellers wrote accounts of their travels. One of the most influential books was Ludwig Bruck's 1888 *Guide to the Health Resorts of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand* which included 170 entries for health resorts in Australia,²³ one of which was for Innot Thermal Springs in Far North Queensland.²⁴ Australia enjoyed a strong spa culture with Beechworth, Victoria, recommended as suitable for those suffering general debility and chest infections, Mt. Macedon, Victoria, favoured in the treatment of tuberculosis due to its 'pure, cold and rarefied atmosphere,'²⁵ and Mt. Victoria, New South Wales, used for nervous conditions and liver complaints. The spa culture appears to have been less well developed in Queensland. Only three were noted in tourism literature by 1915: Muckadilla in south west Queensland; Barcaldine in central

²³ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 220.

²⁴ L. Bruck, *The Australasian Medical Dictionary and Handbook, including a short account of the climatic and sea-side health resorts in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand*, (London, 1896), p. 187.

²⁵ L. Bruck cited by J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 221.

Queensland; and Innot Thermal Springs. All three were noted for their curative properties in the treatment of rheumatism.²⁶

Innot Hot Springs is located 160 kilometres south west of Cairns. It was found in the 1880s by a detachment of native police who saw smoke. Investigation revealed it to be vapour from sulphurous springs which ran into Nettle Creek. A shanty was built on the eastern rise adjacent to the creek by the Garbutt family from nearby Woodleigh station. They enclosed three bath cubicles which were served by the Springs and claimed that the waters had curative powers.²⁷ (see Figure 2.1) By 1890 a two story timber hotel had been built²⁸ and was described by Ludwig Bruck as "... a very good bush hotel for invalids..."²⁹ (see Figure 2.2) A small township grew up around the springs. By 1897 the population was 61 people.³⁰ During the 1890s spring water was carried by pack animals over the Cardwell Range to Townsville for bottling at the Innot Cordial Factory.³¹ The container was known as the 'Innot bottle.' In 1908 a bottling factory opened in Cairns for the water.

²⁶ QGIB, *The Pocket Queenslander*, (Brisbane, 1915), p. 21.

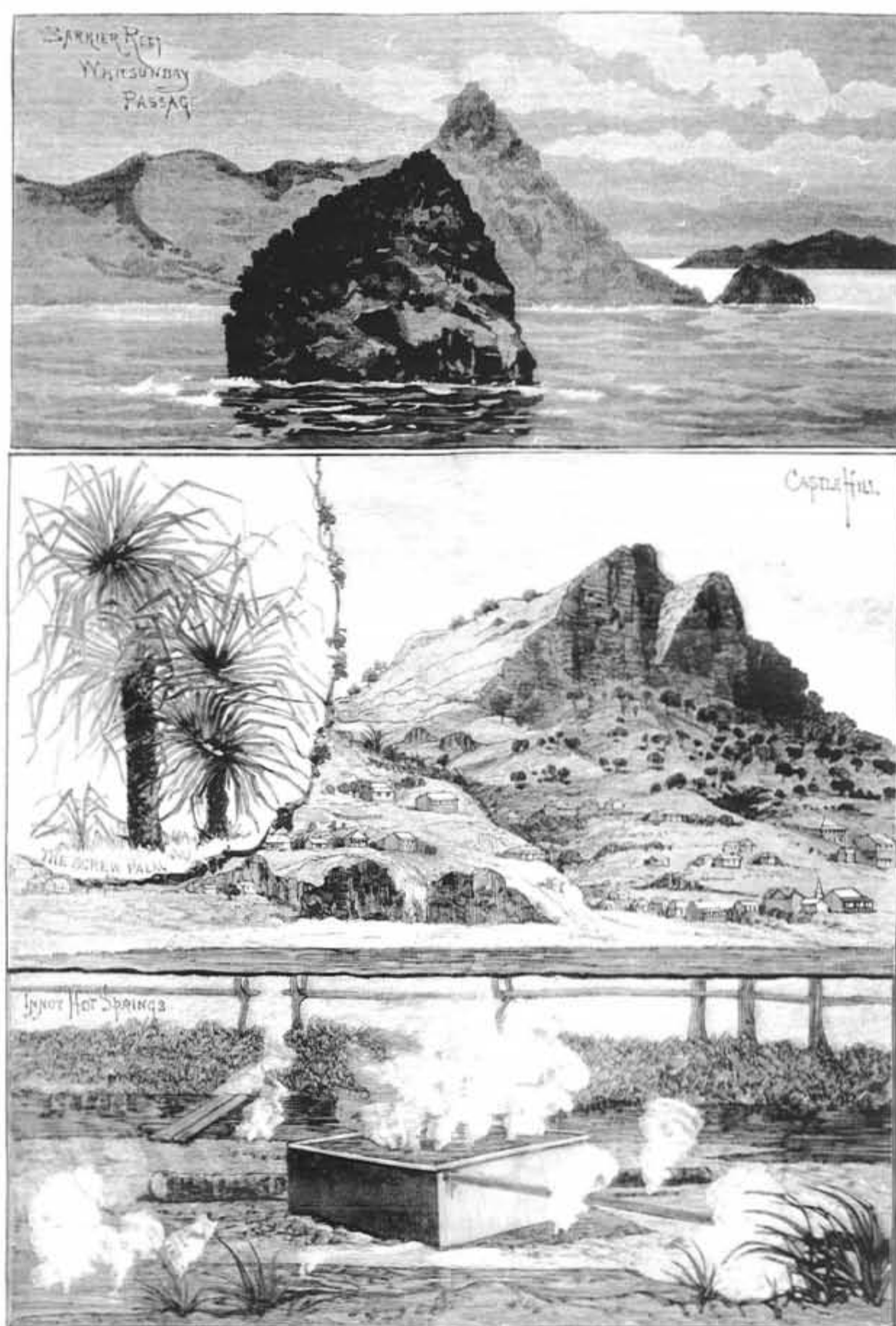
²⁷ J. Cairns & W.T. Johnston, *Early Pubs and Shanties of Far North Queensland*, 1989, no publishing details, p. 46.

²⁸ The first licensee of the Hot Springs Hotel was Albert Vollenwieder in 1890. The license was held by H. Faasche in 1890/91 and was transferred to Charles Spranklin in 1892. Queensland Family History Society, *Queensland Hotels and Publicans Index, 1843 – 1900*, (Brisbane, 1996).

²⁹ L. Bruck, *The Australasian Medical Directory*, p. 187.

³⁰ 'Estimated Population, Walsh and Tinaroo Mining Districts, Herberton, 31st December 1877,' in the "Annual Report of the Under Secretary for Mines for the year 1897," *Queensland Votes and Proceedings* (V&P), 1898, vol. 4, p. 106. Of this population 13 were involved in stream tin mining, 7 were farmers or graziers, 1 was a merchant, professional, clerk or tradesman. There were 10 women, 29 children and 1 Kanaka or Malay in the township.

³¹ Ted Cronin was the owner of this business. 'Tramp,' "Old Time Mining records: the mines of North Queensland," *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine* (C&C), August 1934, vol. 5, no. 88, p. 34.



QUEENSLAND DRAWING FROM AN ARTIST'S JOURNAL

Figure 2.1: Innot Hot Springs and other views of North Queensland. (*Australasian Sketcher*, 12 July 1888.)



Figure 2.2: Innot Springs Hotel and general store. ('Tramp,' C&C, 1934, vol. 15, no. 88, p. 25.)

This venture was not successful due to the distance of the springs from Cairns, high transport costs and the loss of bottles during shipping.³²

From the early 1890s the curative power of the Spring's water was proclaimed by the local press:

... Marvellous accounts continue to come from Innot Springs of the cures effected by the hot springs for which the district has long been famous. The place is some 24 miles from Herberton and is not easy of access, but it seems tolerably certain that not a single invalid undertaking the journey has failed to be satisfied with the astonishing results achieved...³³

The local press in the 1930s again emphasised the curative properties of the Spring while lamenting its geographic isolation:

...two hours away [from Herberton] are the Innot Hot Springs, a wonder of the Northern Highlands and at present almost unknown. Here, right in the creek bed, hot water bubbles up straight from nature's cauldron. It has wonderful curative properties and is a specific to combat rheumatism and kindred ailments. Many cures are claimed for it. It is likely that these springs have qualities that in a more thickly populated country could bring them such fame as the waters brought to Bath, Buxton, Cheltenham, Baden, and other European spas...³⁴

Mention of the curative power of the Spring's water was made in tourism literature prior to the 1920s³⁵ but it was not until the 1930s that descriptions became more elaborate:

...water of almost boiling heat bubbles out of the ground on the banks of Nettle Creek, flowing and overflowing into several pools, making a sort of terrace somewhat similar to the Hot Springs of New Zealand, only on a smaller scale. These waters have a wonderful curative effect on rheumatism and such-like maladies... there is nice hotel accommodation at this place, equipped with baths

³² One of the partners in this enterprise was 'Tramp,' prolific contributor to *C & C*. The other partners included P.J. Doyle, M. Boland and A.H. Clarke. Doyle and Boland were well known Cairns businessmen. The bottling plant was eventually sold to Charles Spranklin, a licensee of the Innot Springs Hotel after 1900. *Ibid.*

³³ "Local and General," *Cairns Argus*, 8 December 1894.

³⁴ *Cairns Post*, 25 January 1932, p. 10.

³⁵ See *Picturesque Travel Under the Auspices of Burns, Philp & Company Limited*; No. 3, 1913, p. 22; & QGLB, *The Pocket Queenslander*, p.21.

of this spring water, and special catering is being done from many angles to make the place popular. It is for the purpose of making more widely known that there are located in the Cairns District such wonderful Springs as these, from a health giving point of view, that this reference is made...³⁶

Despite enthusiastic reports of the curative power of the spring water, Bruck's endorsement in 1896, the commitment of the local residents to exploit the water's potential and positive press and tourism industry coverage, Innot Hot Springs failed to develop beyond a local attraction. This was largely due to the geographic isolation of the area, made more difficult as the coach travel from Herberton was only available on Sundays,³⁷ and the Cairns railway did not reach Herberton until 1910. Travelling to the Springs became easier but not more frequent during the 1950s when 'White Cars' provided a service from Ravenshoe every Thursday.³⁸ Little attention appears to have been paid to Innot Hot Springs after the 1930s by the local press and tourism industry alike. As noted earlier spa culture began to decline during the first half of the 20th century and was largely displaced as a popular way of enjoying water by the rise of beach culture in the 1950s. In 1971 it received bare mention as a 'natural attraction' of the Ravenshoe area in a Travel Industry Appraisal.³⁹

Since the 1970s the township has continued to attract visitors wishing to experience the hot water. The town's infrastructure changed during this period with the 1890s hotel

³⁶ Cairns Harbour Board, *Cairns and District, North Queensland: a compendium of shipping, commercial, touring and general information*, (Cairns, 1936), p. 56.

³⁷ A. Martin, *Passages of Time*, volume 2, Cairns Post, undated, p. 27.

³⁸ Advertisement titled "Innot Hot Springs Hotel", *Cairns Post*, 5 January 1953.

³⁹ ANTA, *Travel Industry Appraisal and Recommendations: the North Queensland Region*, July 1971, no publishing details, pp. ii-8 – ii-9.

demolished in 1977 to make way for new premises with motel accommodation.⁴⁰ (see Figure 2.3) Today nothing remains of the hotel or the bath cubicles erected by the Garbutt family in the 1890s but a colourful sign at the entrance provides a history of the Springs, the spring water business, and the area's tin mining history. (see Figure 2.4)

Mountain resorts

In some instances Australia was ahead of international recreation trends. Like the British in India, Australians headed for the mountains in the summer. Australian resorts were initially located in the mountains to capitalise on the healthy cool air during the hot summers: Katoomba, New South Wales, by the 1870s; a hotel at Mount Kosciusko in New South Wales in 1909; and Mount Macedon and a chalet at Mount Buffalo, Victoria in 1910.

Queensland had a number of mountain resorts. The mountain air was considered of such "...a bracing and exhilarating nature as to bring the bloom of health to the cheeks of the invalid..."⁴¹ Health resorts were located throughout the state and by 1915 included the Tambourine Mountains, Buderim Mountains, Toowoomba, Bunya Mountains, and Killarney and Stanthorpe in the south east. In the north, they were Eungella Range,

⁴⁰ J. Cairns & W.T. Johnston, *Early Pubs & Shanties*, p. 46. Today Hot Springs Village provides a comprehensive visitor experience including 7 pools and spas of varying temperatures fed by the hot springs, a massage service, a van park, budget units, self contained units, a general store, onsite fishing, fossicker licenses for nearby Mount Garnet gem fields, camping and barbeque facilities, bird feeding, and a tennis court. Brochure titled 'Hot Springs Village. Innot Hot Springs. !!!Welcome!!!.' This business is owned by Blue and Vicki Skimmings.

⁴¹ QGIB, *The Pocket Queenslander*, p. 21.



Figure 2.3: Innof Hot Springs Hotel – Motel, 2003.



Figure 2.4: Signage at Innot Hot Springs, 2003.

Paluma, and Herberton and Kuranda in the Cairns hinterland.⁴² Herberton and Kuranda were touted as healthy places to visit in tourism literature. While Kuranda served a similar role to southern mountain resorts, albeit "...without the intervening gentility...,"⁴³ there were no actual mountain health resorts in the Cairns region until Beachview at Millaa Millaa in the 1920s, a Country Women's Association holiday house at Ravenshoe in the 1930s, and Mount Kooyong in the 1950s. Beachview Health Home located near Millaa Millaa was started by Ernest Kjellberg in the 1920s.⁴⁴ Despite not wanting to open a clinic in Millaa Millaa, Kjellberg began taking a few resident patients during the 1920s.⁴⁵ Such was his success with patients written off as 'hopeless cases' by the medical profession, that word of his healing powers spread throughout the north. People with polio, rheumatism, 'spasticity,' and the deaf and blind travelled to receive Kjellberg's treatment which consisted mainly of manipulation, heat applications, exercise and diet. By 1930 thirty to forty patients and staff resided at Beachview, rising to 350 at the outbreak of World War II,⁴⁶ and by 1950 this had risen to around 400 - 500.⁴⁷

Beachview during the 1940s resembled a small town. Accommodating the large number of people visiting temporarily or for extended periods was challenging and patients were required to bring their own tents with them. Elaborate systems of stone terraces were

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Beachview was so named because someone apparently climbed to the top of a prominent hill and saw in the distance the ocean. Eacham Historical Society, *Ernest Kjellberg: Swedish chiropractor*, (Malanda, undated), p. 18.

⁴⁵ Ernest Kjellberg (c1880 – 1968) was born in Sweden and migrated to Australia in 1900. He and his Australian born wife Louise and son Balder moved to Millaa Millaa in 1917. He left a thriving massage business in Sydney having been subject to racist taunts and vandalism due to his German sounding name. Deeply affected by this experience he had no desire to open a clinic in Millaa Millaa but wished to pursue a life as a dairy farmer. S. Gray, "Hands of a Healer," *Cairns Post Weekend Extra*, 4 October 2003, p. 2.

⁴⁶ A. Statham, *Cows in the Vine Scrub: a history of dairying on the Atherton Tableland*, (Malanda, 1998), p. 196.

⁴⁷ Eacham Historical Society, *Ernest Kjellberg*, p. 2.

constructed in the 1930s so that tents and simple timber and iron huts could be erected on the otherwise steep property.⁴⁸ Food was provided in the main building's dining room which could accommodate 100 people. Milk, cream and butter were produced on the property and other supplies were obtained from Millaa Millaa. The township of Millaa Millaa did well from the presence of Beachview with three taxis required to transport patients, staff and others to and from the health resort.⁴⁹

Unlike many other attractions in the region Beachview continued to thrive after World War II with many returning soldiers seeking Kjellberg's assistance in treating tropical diseases and mental and physical ailments caused by war service.⁵⁰ Despite this Ernest Kjellberg made the decision to close Beachview in 1950. This was apparently brought about by a dispute with the taxation office because of Kjellberg's practice of allowing patients who were unable to pay for services to pay their accounts in kind.⁵¹ The closure of Beachview was a huge loss to those traders who supplied goods and services to the health resort and to the forty odd employees.⁵² Today little remains of Beachview Health Home. Its buildings and chattels were auctioned off in 1950. The stone terraces constructed in the 1930s are all that remain of the 'Kjellberg phenomena.'

Country Women's Association (CWA) holiday houses were popular during the 1930s for those who could not afford to travel to southern states to holiday. Although better-off families travelled south for the summer, others moved to the Atherton Tableland in the

⁴⁸ A. Statham, *Cows in the Vine Scrub*, p. 196.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ S. Gray, "Healing Hands," p. 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² In 1940 it was estimated that Beachview had around 40 employees. Eacham Historical Society, *Ernest Kjellberg*, p. 15.

'hill station' tradition copied from India. A CWA holiday house, the 'Mountain Hut' was located at Ravenshoe.⁵³ This appears to have been renamed the 'Sunshine Home' during 1930 when the building was officially opened to receive those seeking respite from the heat and humidity of coastal areas.⁵⁴ The increasing popularity of holidaying away from home was made easier with the completion of the Cairns to Brisbane rail link and had an effect on regional leisure patterns. This was commented upon by the Herberton Shire Council in 1926:

...except for a few private parties, picnics, and the usual dances, a very quiet Christmas was spent here. In fact, it was the quietest Christmas for many years. It is thought this was due to the people residing in the Cairns Hinterland going south for their holidays now that they have the Cairns – Brisbane mail train, thus making the cities accessible; whereas previously they spent their holidays at Kuranda or on the Atherton and Evelyn Tablelands...⁵⁵

Little is known about Mount Kooyong health resort, located in the hinterland of Port Douglas, near Julatten. It was established and operated by two English nursing sisters.⁵⁶ In 1953 the resort was advertised in the local press as "... an exclusive private hotel situated in the mountains... within two hours drive of Cairns, and offering every facility for individual relaxation..."⁵⁷ In the early 1960s the resort's natural environment was included in descriptions:

...set in a glorious garden on the banks of a clear mountain stream, you will find a little bit of paradise...where the world and its worries have no place, and the days drift along in quiet rest and relaxation. Every facility exists for the comfort and convenience of guests... restful nights on cloudlike innersprings...lazy days to spend in a well stocked library, or the comfortable lounges...fishing in the streams, or rambling through bushland. Here you will see rare orchids...brilliant

⁵³ The CWA's Seventh Annual Report indicated that the 'Mountain Hut' was established during the 1929 – 30 year. See "Country Women's Association, Northern Division: Seventh Annual Report," in *C&C*, December 1930, vol. 4, no. 44, p. 63.

⁵⁴ "Country Women," *Cairns Post*, 13 October 1930, p. 4.

⁵⁵ "Herberton Shire Council Meeting," in *Ibid.*, 8 January 1926.

⁵⁶ A.C.C. Lock, *Tropical Tapestry: from Capricorn to Cape York*, (Melbourne, 1956), p. 249.

⁵⁷ "Mount Kooyong Resort," *Cairns Post*, 8 January 1953.

birds...butterflies in great variety...and the unique platypus is frequently seen in nearby Bushy Creek. Throughout the year, pleasant temperatures ensure perfect holidays at this lovely mountain resort...⁵⁸

Occasionally travel writers visited Mount Kooyong. In the 1950s A.C.C. Lock visited and was enthusiastic about the "... famous [and] admirably situated and conducted Mount Kooyong tourist and health resort... [with] delectable meals...and the lovely tropical environment in which the guest house is situated..."⁵⁹ Mount Kooyong Guest House continued to operate during the 1960s but is not listed in tourism or motoring literature after this.⁶⁰

Kuranda's reputation as a healthy retreat from coastal heat and humidity was well established by 1907. (see Figure 2.5) Indeed as late as the 1950s and 1960s a small number of tourists was spending the winter at Fitzpatrick's Hotel, Kuranda, and returning south in the summer.⁶¹ In tourism literature this aspect had been combined with its reputation as an ideal spot for honeymooning couples. Banfield, in a rare elaborate description, sang its praises:

...wise citizens of Cairns dwell among the hills. Honey-mooning couples love the quiet, sweet solitudes above the [Barron] Falls. Secluded dells have heard hundreds of repetitions of the old, old story, yet ever the newest and most thrilling, of love and perfect bliss. Newly-wedded couples come from far-away places to renew their vows of fidelity. Blue doves murmur the soft accents of love. The Falls sing a never-ending epithalamium – impetuous or soothing. 'The voice that breathed o'er Eden' whispers continuously in the shady walks. All is

⁵⁸ See advertisement titled "Mount Kooyong Private Hotel," in *North Queensland Tourist Guide to Nature's Mighty Amphitheatre: Atherton Tableland*, (Innisfail, circa early 1960), no page number.

⁵⁹ A.C.C., Lock, *Tropical Tapestry*, p. 249.

⁶⁰ In 1960 Mount Kooyong was listed as having accommodation available in the Mareeba district. See 'North Queensland Local Government Association File,' in A/19182: Labour and Tourism Department, General Correspondence Batches. QSA. In a booklet issued by Shell Mount Kooyong was briefly mentioned as a place to stay between Julatten and Mareeba. Shell Touring Service, *Queensland: the Bruce Highway*, (Brisbane, circa 1960s), p. 19.

⁶¹ Pers. Comm., Keith Hill, Cairns, 6 May 2002.



Figure 2.5: Boating on the Barron River at Kuranda with the Kuranda Hotel on the hill in the background, 1911. (P00453, Cairns Historical Society, P00453)

ideal. It is said a singularly happy state is ensured for those whose early married days are passed in the peaceful, yet inspiring, neighbourhood of Kuranda...⁶² Banfield saw that a person's moral character could be improved by the altitude of Kuranda and the Atherton Tableland:

...All a fair and fertile country, abundantly watered and set about with the grandeur of the mountain scenery, which surely must elevate and refine the sentiments of the people who work out their destinies in such a favoured spot. 'Every prospect pleases,' and man [sic], far from being vile, industriously turns to good and useful purpose, for himself and the well-being of others, natural forces which have lain idle or have expended themselves in what we are pleased to call waste and fruitless profusion for hundreds of years...⁶³

Seaside health resorts

The beach holds a special place in the psyche of Australians. Prior to the 1950s beach resorts played a lesser role to inland resorts such as Kuranda which were favoured because the cooler air was considered healthier. Despite Australia's preoccupation with its emerging national identity based on the dry inland, many Australians began to go the beach, perhaps not to swim in the first instance, but certainly to promenade, picnic and play, and enjoy the outdoors. In contrast to northern hemisphere countries, this could be done almost all year around. Such was the popularity of beach-going that by 1906 the Bondi Surf Bathers' Lifesaving Club was established, the first of its kind in the world, and before long Sydney was known internationally as the home of surf-bathing.⁶⁴ In Queensland Southport and Coolangatta became seaside resorts by the 1880s. The popularity of these resorts increased with the extension of rail services from Brisbane. By 1911 these resorts were being marketed in the southern states by the Queensland government.⁶⁵ During this period the beaches of the Cairns region were not well known

⁶² E.J. Banfield, *Queensland: the winter paradise of Australasia*, (Brisbane, 1907), 71.

⁶³ E.J. Banfield, cited by S. Ryan, "Beauty is use and use beauty: North Queensland in early tourism publicity," *Coppertales: a journal of rural arts*, 2002, vol. 2, p. 7.

⁶⁴ G. Dutton, *Sun, Sea, Surf and Sand: the myth of the beach*, (Melbourne, 1985), pp. 49 & 110.

⁶⁵ J. Richardson, *History of Australian Travel*, p. 72.

and did not appear in any detail in early tourism literature which almost exclusively focused on the Barron Falls and the cruise to Cairns.

Despite this, trends toward beach going to the Cairns region were similar to those of their southern counterparts; the locals began to surf-bathe and lifesaving parades and other aquatic sports were held.⁶⁶ Beaches such as Double Island Beach, later renamed Trinity Beach, Yorkeys Knob, Turtle Bay, Second Beach, False Cape and Browns Bay were popular 'spots' for locals from early on. Of these beaches Double Island beach was the earliest to develop probably because it was located on Mt. Buchan Estate and was within driving distance of Cairns.⁶⁷ Adding to the popularity of the beach was the close proximity of Double Island, a favourite spot for fishing, sea-bathing and picnicking by the 1930s.⁶⁸ (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7) By 1899 facilities at Double Island beach included "... a permanent table with seats... for holding picnics, under the shadow of coconuts..."⁶⁹ In 1893 a hotel was constructed with sophisticated amenities including two double bedrooms, six single bedrooms and two sitting rooms, enclosed by a wide verandah. Outside was stabling for six horses, with a coach house and feed room. On the beach itself was dressing rooms.⁷⁰ Improvements in amenities could not fail but increase

⁶⁶ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland Tourist Guide Book: winter tours*, (Cairns, 1933), p. 73.

⁶⁷ This Estate was established around 1884 by Messrs Jameson and Blair and comprised 5,000 acres for growing sugar, coconuts and tropical fruits. W. Middlemiss, Notes on a trip to North Queensland: a diary for the period 2 July 1889 – 8 September 1889, p. 13.

⁶⁸ QGTB, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 11. Double Island is a 46 hectare vegetated island first sighted by Europeans by the crew of the *Rattlesnake* in July 1848. E.A. Meston, "Mestonian Flashes: Queensland, our romantic coast," *C & C*, January 1957, vol. 33, p. 9. The Island remained a popular local 'spot' until the 1960s when the Lands Department granted special leases to allow development of the whole island. "Development Plans Announced: tourist attractions Green Island and Double Island," *Cairns Post*, 29 January 1960. In the late 1990s it became the domain of top-of-the-market tourists. In 2004 Double Island was named one of the world's ten great escapes. "Double Island luxury honour," *Ibid.*, 23 March 2004, p. 6.

⁶⁹ W. Middlemiss, Notes on a trip to North Queensland, p. 13.

⁷⁰ "Excerpts from the 1893 editions of the *Cairns Post*," *Cairns Post*, 9 February 2002, p. 18.

the popularity of the beach with locals, and a contributor to the *Cairns Post* declared in 1893 that "... Double Island [beach] is the Sanitarium of North Queensland and as a watering hole cannot be excelled..."⁷¹

Inevitably the larger numbers of people created tension with the Manager of Mt Buchan Estate who by 1899 was refusing to allow the public to use the Estate's road to the beach. This early tension between business interests and locals highlights the sense of 'ownership' and 'place' which attaches itself to newly found tourist areas known in the vernacular as 'spots.' The sharing of 'camping spots,' 'beach spots' and 'fishing spots' on Mt Buchan Estate was resolved officially by the Cairns City Council which had the road to Double Island Beach and a camping ground gazetted.⁷²

By the 1930s the coconut groves adjoining the beach were overgrown and untended adding "... an aspect of exotic wildness to the scene..."⁷³ and there was a refreshment room and dance hall, at which dances were held each Saturday night.⁷⁴ Dressing sheds were erected on the beach by the Cairns Shire Council in 1932.⁷⁵ Little in terms of tourism infrastructure was initiated at Double Island Beach after the 1930s and during this decade the beach was described as having a "... semi-suburban character in that there [were] many huts and bungalows inhabited at weekend and holiday seasons by their owners who [lived and worked] in the city..."⁷⁶ (see Figure 2.8)

⁷¹ "Excerpts from the 1893 editions of the *Cairns Post*," *Ibid.*, 9 February 2002, p. 18.

⁷² "A picnic grievance," *Cairns Morning Post*, 19 September 1899, p. 2 & 5 October 1899, p. 5.

⁷³ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 73.

⁷⁴ 'Holiday Resorts, Hotels, etc,' *Cairns Post*, 1 August 1930, p. 1. This advertisement also advised that the lease of the refreshment room had just been taken over by Mr. Williams.

⁷⁵ 'Cairns Shire Report,' *Ibid.*, 9 January 1932, p. 14.

⁷⁶ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 73.



Figure 2.6: Double Island from the Cook Highway. (*Cairns: a souvenir booklet*, circa 1950s)

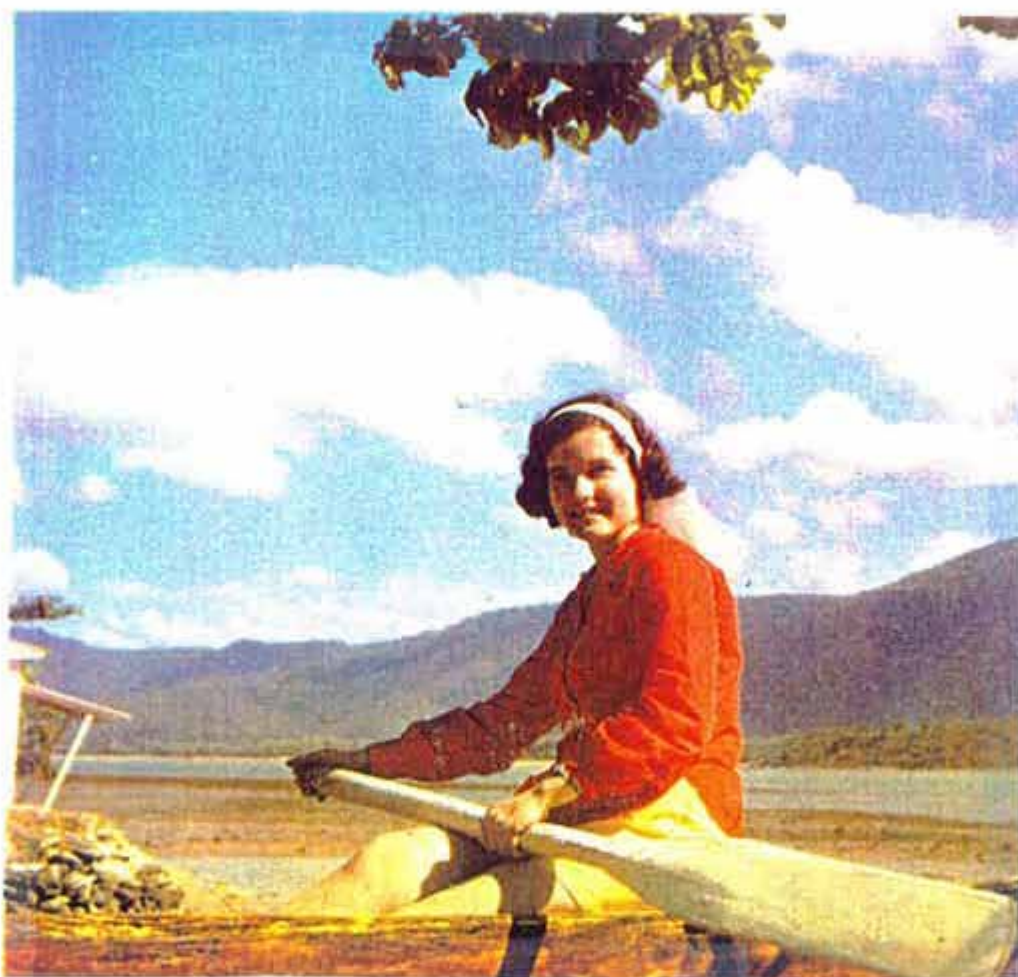


Figure 2.7: Canoeing at Double Island. (*The North Queensland Annual*, vol. 6, circa 1960s)

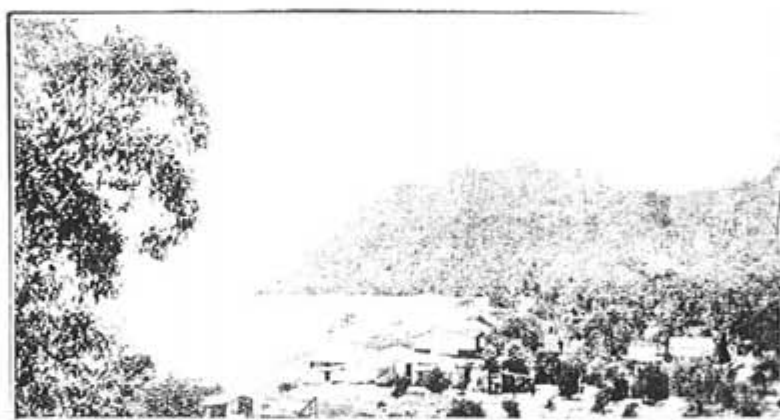


Figure 2.8: Double Island beach. (*C & C*, August 1931, vol. 5, no. 52)

Although there does not appear to have been any significant development of the region's other beaches prior to 1900, it is likely that these were visited regularly by the locals, particularly by those with access to boats. It was not until the 1920s that the region's other beaches began to rate a mention in tourism literature. Yorkeys Knob beach was touted as a "...good spot for fishing and swimming..."⁷⁷ and Turtle Bay was regarded as having a "...good beach and safe surfing..."⁷⁸

By the 1930s boat operators became more organised in advertising trips to various beach resorts. Local launches the 'Manly' and Hayles' 'Merinda' organised trips to Turtle Bay and "...the new picnic ground..." of False Cape.⁷⁹ Excursions to Browns Bay and Second Beach on the 'Manly' were available on Sundays at a cost of 2/6.⁸⁰ Turtle Bay was particularly popular for 'moonlight and music' trips.⁸¹ However, trips to Turtle Bay were discontinued after a year because it was located on an Aboriginal Reserve and access was restricted.⁸² There was little development of infrastructure at most beaches during the 1930s, Yorkeys Knob and Browns Bay aside. Turtle Bay and False Cape remained essentially underdeveloped picnicking spots although Second Beach acquired some local holiday cottages.⁸³ The development of holiday homes at Second Beach and Yorkeys Knob (discussed below) is considered to be a factor contributing to the long term stability of a tourism region due to the financial investment by owners.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ QGTB, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Cairns Harbour Board, *Nineteenth Annual Report and Statement of the Cairns Harbour Board*, 1925, p. 25.

⁷⁹ 'Excursions,' *Cairns Post*, 15 January 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁰ 'Amusements,' *Ibid.*, 5 February 1932, p. 2.

⁸¹ 'Excursions,' *Ibid.*, 15 January 1932, p. 3.

⁸² J. O'Donoghue, *Robert Hayles Snr: a magnetic life*, (Cairns, 2001), p. 57.

⁸³ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 119.

⁸⁴ E. Berry, *An Application of Butlers Life Cycle Theory*, p. 18

Yorkeys Knob named after a former beche-de-mer fisher, Yorkshireman George Lawson, developed in a similar manner to Double Island Beach but received more infrastructure after World War II.⁸⁵ Locals patronised the beach from early times. By 1924 the region's lifesavers had made their headquarters there⁸⁶ and by 1931 tours to the beach were departing from the Strand Hotel, Cairns thrice weekly.⁸⁷ It was also known as a health resort and by 1924 a convalescent home had been established by Matron Lucie Varley. (see Figure 2.9) The hub of social life at Yorkeys Knob was Matron Varley's Pacific Resort Hotel.⁸⁸ (see Figure 2.10) The hotel was described as well appointed with electricity and glass fronted verandahs.⁸⁹ This ensured that locals and visitors alike enjoyed day trips and holidays there. Perhaps capitalising on Yorkeys Knob's reputation as a health resort, Matron Varley's hotel, the Pacific Resort Hotel, under the proprietorship of Harold Hinchey, advertised the hotel as a 'home for tired people.'⁹⁰ In 1930 a seaside cottage was opened by the Country Women's Association (CWA) upon land which had been proclaimed a park for health purposes and placed under the control of the CWA.⁹¹ (see Figure 2.11) The cottage was sold in 1962.⁹²

⁸⁵ George Lawson, known as 'One Armed Yorkie' and after whom Yorkeys Knob was named was the first caretaker on Green Island and lost his arm while dynamiting fish. F. Clune, *Free and Easy Land*, (Sydney, 1945), p. 245.

⁸⁶ "Changing Tides at Yorkeys," *Cairns Post*, p. 20.

⁸⁷ 'Tramp,' "A Scrubland Tour: North Queensland beauty spots," in *C&C*, October 1931, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 63.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ "The Cairns District: rich agricultural land, magnificent scenery," *C&C*, March 1935, vol. 5, no. 95, p. 39.

⁹⁰ "Holiday Resorts, Hotels etc," *Cairns Post*, 4 January 1932, p. 1. The tariff was 10/- per day or £2/10/- per week.

⁹¹ "Cairns Country Women," *Ibid.*, 13 October 1930, p. 4.

⁹² "Changing tides at Yorkeys," *Ibid.*, p. 20.

During World War II the hotel was taken over by the American Red Cross and used as a nursing and convalescent home⁹³ and the beach was a popular haven for American soldiers. Their presence may have provided the impetus for further development as by 1950 a swimming enclosure had been constructed⁹⁴ and in 1960 a caravan park established with showers, a septic system, a laundry and reticulated water.⁹⁵ During this decade however Yorkeys Knob's fortunes began to change with the Cairns Surf Lifesaving Club being transferred to Palm Cove and Ellis Beach which were gaining in popularity with locals and tourists. It also suffered ongoing erosion of the foreshore, and the loss to fire of the Pacific Resort Hotel in 1964.⁹⁶

Browns Bay situated across Trinity Inlet from Cairns was a popular boating and picnicking spot for locals. For one local at least it was a special place in the 1950s, captured in a poem titled 'Browns Bay':

I find joy and contentment in this special little glade,
sitting beneath the mango trees' cool, widely spreading shade.
I offer no apologies if I seem to boast
of this cove of rare enchantment on the Queensland coast.

Beyond the mango trees, the boxwood and the slender palm
spreads out the sparkling water of the bay, serene and calm;
an animated backdrop for the still stark trunks of trees.
A shining silvery vision rippling gently in the breeze.

⁹³ P. Nielsen, *Diary of WW II, North Queensland*, (Cairns, 1993), p. 59.

⁹⁴ The swimming enclosure was completed on 28 December 1950. Cairns Harbour Board, *Forty-fifth Annual Report and Statement*, 1950, p. 9.

⁹⁵ See North Queensland Local Government Association File: Mulgrave Shire, Beaches, in A/19182: Labour & Tourism Department, General Correspondence Batches. QSA.

⁹⁶ "Changing tides at Yorkeys," *Cairns Post*, p. 20.

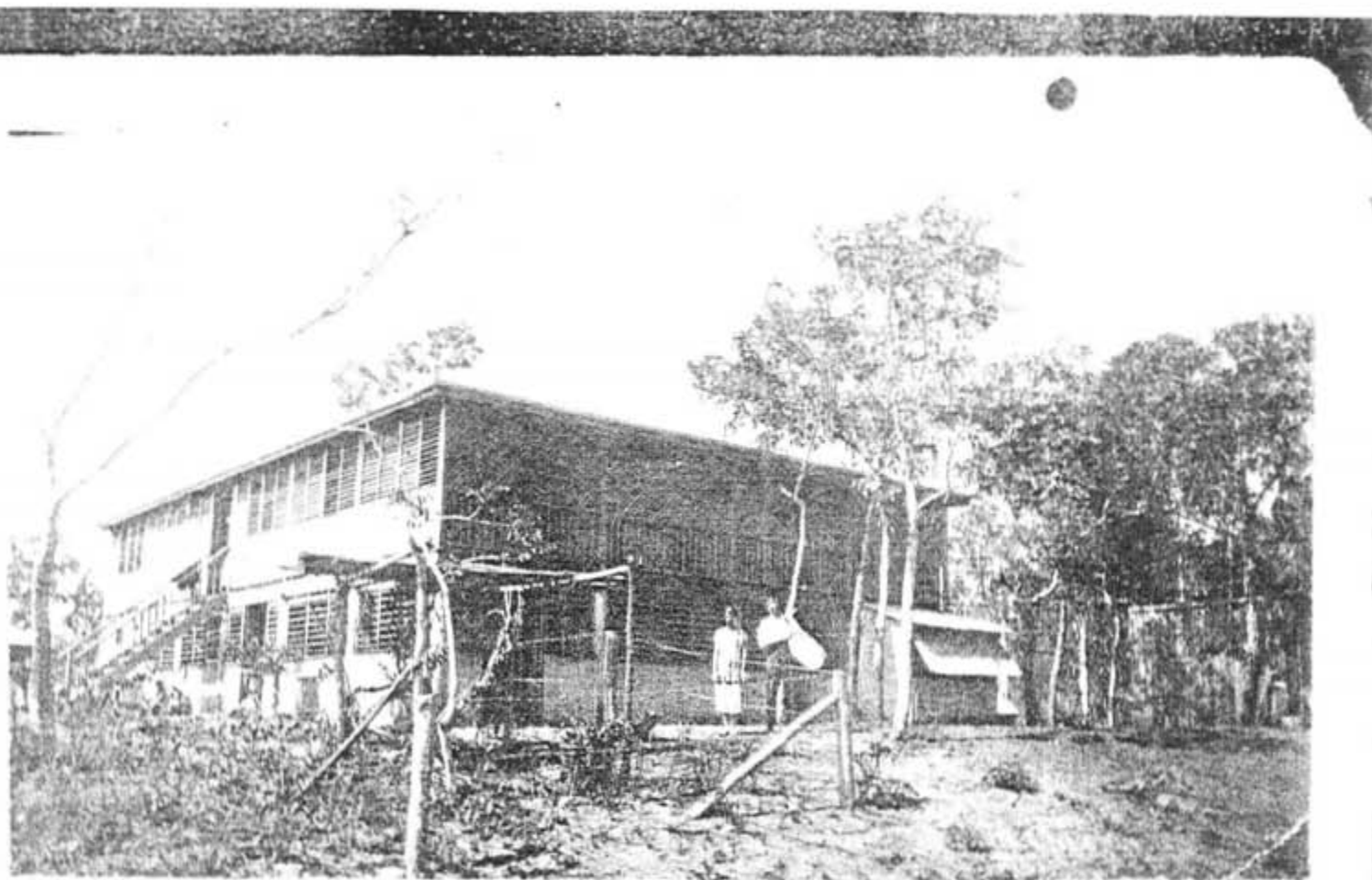


Figure 2.9: Matron Varley's Convalescent Home, Yorkeys Knob, 1924. (P05044, Cairns Historical Society)



Figure 2.10: Pacific Resort Hotel, Yorkeys Knob, 1926. (P03576, Cairns Historical Society)

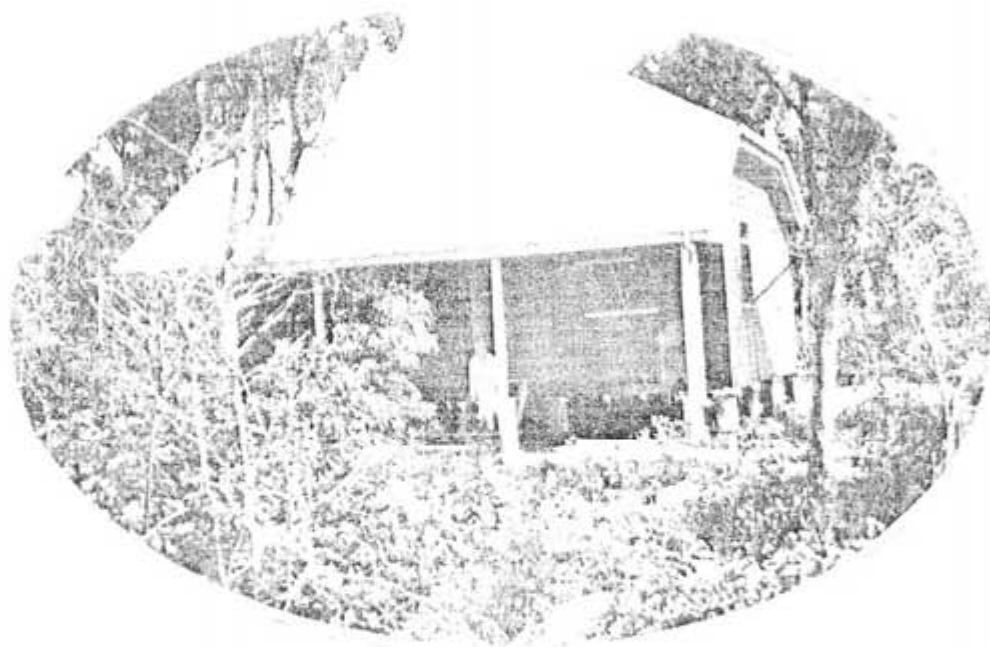


Figure 2.11: The CWA Cottage at Yorkeys Knob. (*Queenslander*, 8 August 1929)

With little sail boats flitting, weaving, straining in their race,
 swift and agile as the fishes – swanlike in their grace;
 the broken-down old jetty is a souvenir of days gone by;
 grim reminder of the cyclone's ruthless waves.

A tiny mountain stream comes tumbling down to meet the sea,
 rushing over rocks and gurgling in wild ecstasy.
 Playing hide-and-seek with trees that somehow grow within
 its course; thirsty trees that deeply drink, life's contest to win.

Far beyond the harbour is the hazy mountain range,
 standing guard to inland plains of gradual change;
 while the swiftly growing city spreads out to the mountain's feet,
 resembling in the distance a jigsaw incomplete.

This little cove, Brown's Bay, firmly clasped in circling arms
 of its mother, Trinity Bay, harbour of many charms;
 an unspoiled spot of Queensland – this tract of virgin bush,
 as yet unsullied by the tractor's cold, relentless push.

How I love its atmosphere of cool tranquility,
 a refuge where the troubled mind mentally might flee;
 Brown's Bay, there is a corner of my heart for you alone,
 wherein you reign supremely as a monarch on your throne.⁹⁷

Browns Bay was only accessible by boat and by 1932 day excursions were being provided by the launch 'Manly.'⁹⁸ By 1933 significant improvements had been made, designed to attract both locals and visitors. Described in tourism literature as a 'scenic rendezvous' with its groves of coconuts symbolising tropical romance, its improvements included a crocodile zoo, a wooden jetty, a freshwater swimming hole in a stream behind the bay, and circular huts built around the trunks of coconut trees by local Aborigines.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ S. Kimmins, "Browns Bay," *North Queensland Register*, 18 January 1958, p. 28.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1932, p.3.

⁹⁹ The huts were made with simple, locally obtainable building materials with a lightweight framework of saplings covered by plaited blady grass and roofs thatched with the same materials. V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 123.

The huts were seen as something unique, "... a real touch of the tropics..."¹⁰⁰ (see Figures 2.12 to 2.14)

The zoo known as 'Koombal Park Zoo' was developed by Walter Schridde in the early 1930s.¹⁰¹ By 1932 a cave containing Aboriginal rock art had been 'discovered' and tourists were being encouraged to visit by playing on exotic ideas associated with indigenous people:

...this cave, barely five miles from Cairns, is well worth a visit. The boat trip is an enjoyable one, the walk up the beach is pretty and the examination of the Aboriginal camping place is interesting. Then as you sit with a pipe – or, dear lady, a cigarette – you can let your thoughts drift back through the centuries, see in imagination a primitive people at their daily duties, see them make merry, make love, make war. And if you are disposed for gruesome details, you can picture a trembling captive tied to a tree, hear the thud as the wooden club strikes home, see the cutting up and cooking of the meat and the feasting afterwards – and shudder deliciously...¹⁰²

By 1935 the zoo contained a large number of tropical animals including crocodiles, snakes, birds, marsupials, turtles, cassowaries and dingoes. The only 'exotic' animal in the collection was a guinea pig.¹⁰³ Other improvements included a shark-proof swimming enclosure.¹⁰⁴ The Park's grounds by this time were adorned with a profusion of tropical plants: bananas, paw-paws, granadillas, rosellas, custard apples, allamandas, frangipani, and the corkwood tree,¹⁰⁵ improvements which the North Queensland Naturalist's Club saw as detracting from the attraction's scenic beauty.¹⁰⁶ Army

¹⁰⁰ Cairns Harbour Board, *Cairns and District, North Queensland*, p. 87.

¹⁰¹ Walter Schridde was a crocodile and snake hunter who obtained specimens for zoological collections. F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, (Sydney, 1935), p. 239.

¹⁰² 'Josephus,' "Browns Bay Cave," *Northern Affairs*, 3 June 1932, p. 28.

¹⁰³ "Current Nature Topics: Browns Bay Zoo," *Cairns Post*, 31 May 1940.

¹⁰⁴ Cairns Harbour Board, *Cairns and District*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁵ F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ "Current Nature Topics: deterioration of scenic resorts," *Cairns Post*, 12 January 1940.



Figure 2.12: The jetty at Browns Bay with thatched huts and other buildings along the tree line, 1940s. (photograph, P11212, Cairns Historical Society)



Figure 2.13: The entrance to the kiosk at Browns Bay. Note the Disney characters on top of the entrance, 1935. (photograph, P11255, Cairns Historical Society)



Figure 2.14: Browns Bay Resort showing thatched huts built around coconut trees, c. 1932. (P09168, Cairns Historical Society)

personnel visited the zoo and resort during the war years and posed alongside the 'big crocodile' façade which emphasised the zoo's main attraction. (see Figure 2.15)

In 1944 Walter Schridde sold the resort and zoo to Berkley Cook and Schridde's crocodiles went to the Mount Saint John Zoo near Townsville.¹⁰⁷ By the 1950s Cook had produced a tourist brochure, was transporting visitors on his boat, the '*Koombal*'¹⁰⁸ and had introduced taipan feeding at the park.¹⁰⁹ The brochure indicates that Cook introduced a more comprehensive experience for visitors including a labeled zoological collection, a visit to the nearby Aboriginal rock paintings, and a history of the local Aborigines by the 'discoverer' of the paintings, Douglas Seaton and local Aboriginal guide, Dudley Bulmer who was inexplicably if exotically adorned by a feathered headdress and body paint.¹¹⁰ (see Figure 2.16)

'Koombal Park Zoo' continued to be a significant tourist attraction providing quite a different experience for visitors and was included in much of the tourism and motoring organisation literature until the mid 1960s.¹¹¹ While it is difficult to ascertain the numbers of visitors to the Park due to lack of records and irregular boating schedules, it is likely that a large number of people visited the attraction as by 1960 day trips to the Park were being offered four days a week at a cost of 16/6.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ "Current Nature Topics: crocodiles in North Queensland," *Ibid.*, 13 October 1944.

¹⁰⁸ "Current Nature Topics: Koombal Park," *Ibid.*, 31 July 1954.

¹⁰⁹ "Current Nature Topics: Taipan feeding," *Ibid.*, 18 February 1956.

¹¹⁰ "Current Nature Topics: Koombal Park," *Ibid.*, 31 July 1954.

¹¹¹ For example see QGTB, *Cairns & Hinterland*, no page number & Shell Touring Service, *Queensland: the Bruce Highway*, pp. 18 – 19.

¹¹² QGTB, *Day Tours Round and About Cairns: effective 10.4.60 to 30.9.60*, (Brisbane, 1960), no page number.

It is difficult to account for the demise of this seemingly popular attraction by the late 1960s. However, competition from Hartley's Creek Zoo on the much publicised scenic Cook Highway between Cairns and Mossman would have been a factor.¹¹³ By the 1950s Hartley's Creek Zoo was being touted as "...only place in Australia where crocodiles perform and are hand-fed..."¹¹⁴ and regular animal shows were being held.¹¹⁵ During the 1960s Pioneer Tours buses began to stop at Hartley's Creek Zoo to view snake and crocodile demonstrations accompanied by a commentary.¹¹⁶ Hartley's Creek Zoo was a structured and organised visitor experience, much more accessible, and could be enjoyed on the way to Port Douglas, Mossman and other destinations by time-conscious tourists.

During the 1930s tourism literature began to extol the beauty of northern beaches. Interestingly Victor Kennedy, author of *Cairns North Queensland Tourist Guide Book: winter tours*, chose to portray the beaches of Cairns in terms of their potential hedonistic qualities pointing to "...freedom from workaday concerns..."¹¹⁷ to be found on the beaches and asking "...who could go to those golden coral beaches and resist the age old

¹¹³ Hartley's Creek kiosk sprang up midway between Cairns and Port Douglas in response to the building of the Cook Highway, officially opened 17 December 1933. By 1935 the kiosk was providing morning and afternoon teas, picnic hampers for the nearby beach, and accommodation huts at 8/- per day or £1/10/- per week. See advertisement "The Half-Way House," in C.B. Christensen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 232. The transition from half-way house and kiosk to Hartley's Creek Zoo appears to have occurred during the mid to late 1940s. See advertisement titled "Hartley's Creek," in *Cairns, Innisfail and Atherton Tableland Visitors Directory*, 1949, p. 15.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Shows were held daily except in February when they were held only on Sundays, and March when they were held between 2 – 5 pm on all days except Monday. Entrance fees were \$2 to walk through, \$2.50 to include viewing a show, and \$2.80 for special shows. See Appendix VI, in Great Barrier Marine Park Authority (GBMPA), *Data Review of Reef Related Tourism, 1946 – 1980*, February 1984.

¹¹⁶ "The Cook Highway Scenic Drive," *The North Queensland Annual*, no page number.

¹¹⁷ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 72.



Figure 2.15: Army personnel and others relaxing at Browns Bay during the early 1940s. (P13070, Cairns Historical Society)



Figure 2.16: An Aboriginal guide, possibly Dudley Bulmer, at Koombal Park, c. 1940s or 1950s. (P02950, Cairns Historical Society)

call of freedom and lulling waves?...¹¹⁸ Kennedy justified these hedonistic yearnings by extolling the benefits to one's health; "...the health that comes from it is not a figment of one's heightened imagination; it has tangible reality in the unimpassioned records of health departments..."¹¹⁹

Allusions to the sensuous nature of the tropical sun were peppered throughout descriptions of the beaches. Reminiscent of the Romantic poets, tourists were encouraged to partake of the sun as it was this sunshine which called locals and visitors alike to the beach "... to worship of the Great Sun God in his own stupendous temple..."¹²⁰

Reef tourism

One would expect that the Great Barrier Reef and its islands off Cairns would have attracted tourists from early times. In fact this is not the case and the Reef's economic potential was realised in the collection of marine life including guano,¹²¹ beche-de-mer,¹²² dugong,¹²³ turtles and coral. From as early as 1873 Michaelmas Cay, originally

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹²¹ Guano was removed from Raine Island resulting in considerable disturbance to its native vegetation. B. Daly, "Changes in the Great Barrier Reef since European Settlement," PhD exit seminar, 14 March 2005, James Cook University, Townsville.

¹²² Green Island had a number of beche-de-mer stations established on it prior to 1900. There are no accounts of beche-de-mer stations being established or operated after 1900. D. Jones, *Trinity Phoenix: a history of Cairns*, (Cairns, 1976), pp. 14, 15, 97 & 98.

¹²³ Dugong blubber and skin were popular for their oil and leather hides prior to 1900. Claims were made concerning the medicinal quality of the oil causing prices of £3 per gallon. T.C. Roughley, *Wonders of the Great Barrier Reef*, (Sydney, 1949), p. 167. This view persisted into the 1930s when a tourist brochure noted that it was recommended for lung complaints. QGTB, *The Great Barrier Reef of Australia: a popular account of its general nature, revised by the Great Barrier Reef Committee*, (Brisbane, 1929), p. 26.

known as Oyster Company Island, was exploited for its coral to make lime.¹²⁴ For a brief period in 1887 a lime extraction industry was also operating on Fitzroy Island.¹²⁵ The extraction of coral accelerated during the 1920s when mineral leases were granted for Upolo Cay and Green Island.¹²⁶ The lime produced was used to fertilise cane fields in the Cairns region. In 1932 the Cairns Chamber of Commerce began to protest against the spoliation of the cays and the detrimental effect the coral removal was having on birdlife.

It was not until the 1930s when access to the reef became easier that tension between industry and tourism became a problem. Lime extraction was not the only industry that was responsible for the destruction of birds with the tourism industry being implicated in the slaughter of Torres Strait pigeons on the Family group of islands in the early 1930s.¹²⁷ Much of the Chamber of Commerce's concern lay in the detrimental effect a reduction in bird numbers on the reef would have on tourist numbers, a concern not shared by the State Treasurer who was of the opinion that "... any disturbance which its [the coral] removal might cause to bird life could not be regarded seriously in view of the great number of suitable areas available for bird sanctuaries..."¹²⁸ The lime leases by this time had been held by the Department of Mines for 18 years.¹²⁹ These mineral leases were

¹²⁴ D. Jones, *Trinity Phoenix*, p. 93.

¹²⁵ *Cairns Post*, 31 March 1887. This enterprise was abandoned due to constant rain which made it difficult to keep the lime burners operating.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ An article in the local newspaper detailed the slaughter of Torres Strait pigeons on Dunk and other islands since the introduction of a regular tourist service from Tully. *Cairns Post*, 9 January 1932, p. 11.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* By 1932 the Chamber of Commerce and the Cairns and Tableland Publicity Association (CTPA) were receiving pressure from tourism industry interests and the general population to include a large number of attractions on tourism itineraries including Upolo Cay and Michaelmas Cay. Letter to the Editor, "Tourist Traffic," in *Ibid.*, 13 February 1932.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 January 1932.

due for renewal around this time and the Cairns City Council desired that they were not to be renewed.¹³⁰

The lease dispute in the Cairns region occurred at a time of increasing awareness of the effects of industry on the bird and marine life of the reef. The islands of the reef and particularly Green Island had been favourite excursion places for the residents of Cairns since the 1880s¹³¹ giving the locals an interest in goings-on in their 'place.' There were loud protests against the granting of lime leases on Michaelmas Cay, Upolo Cay and Green Island in the 1920s¹³² and letters were written to the *Cairns Post* regarding the effect of lime extraction on birdlife during the 1930s.¹³³ Popular sentiment coalesced with official policy in the 1930s. Institutions such as the Cairns City Council and the Cairns Chamber of Commerce, galvanised by public disquiet, were more willing to limit and police the actions of industry and others. It must be noted that these efforts were locally driven with the Queensland State Government initially refusing for example the request by the Cairns City Council to have Green Island and its adjacent coral reefs vested in the Council, so as to provide protection against the destruction of reefs and removal of coral, shells and other marine specimens.¹³⁴

Reef resort development

Little in the way of resort development was carried out on the region's islands prior to World War I. The earliest island resort in North Queensland was identified in the 1915

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ D. Jones, *Trinity Phoenix*, p. 97.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹³³ *Cairns Post*, 17 February 1932, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Letter from the Under Secretary of Treasury, Brisbane to the Town Clerk, Cairns, dated 22 January 1931: reference 31/394 L.A.C.T. GEN. QSA.

Pocket Queenslander as being Magnetic Island, off Townsville.¹³⁵ Indeed early tourism guides were not portraying islands such as Green and Fitzroy Island in that manner. Banfield's 1907 tourist guide for example does not mention Green Island at all and while describing Fitzroy Island as "... another of those beauty spots common along this part of the coast..."¹³⁶ does not suggest that the island was a potential attraction for tourists.

It was not until 1947 that the tourism possibilities of the Great Barrier Reef near Cairns were explored systematically when the region was visited by the Tourist Development Board to write a report for the Queensland State Government. The Board was enthusiastic about the attractions of Cairns generally and took the view that the Reef in conjunction with the benign winter climate was Queensland's greatest tourist asset.¹³⁷ In an appendix to the report, T.C. Roughley, author of *Wonders of the Barrier Reef*, recommended that first class modern hotels should be built on selected 'high islands,' and thatched roofed cabins on some of the more distant cays so that tourists could experience the 'real' reef. This effectively endorsed plans announced by Pioneer and Ansett earlier in June 1947 to establish tourist hotels on northern islands.¹³⁸ Other recommendations in the report were that the western side of Fitzroy Island should be developed for tourists, and game fishing developed as a tourist attraction.¹³⁹

The game fishing industry was slow to develop in the region despite novelist Zane Grey's landing of a black marlin in the 1920s, which advertised Cairns in America. The local

¹³⁵ QGIB, *The Pocket Queenslander*, p. 21. This resort was established as a health resort in the 1870s at Picnic Bay on Magnetic Island.

¹³⁶ E.J. Banfield, *Within the Barrier*, p. 51.

¹³⁷ *Cairns Post*, 9 September 1947, p. 4.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1947, p. 5.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 September 1947, p. 4.

newspaper saw the potential of associating elite figures such as Zane Grey with the region and trumpeted loudly the government's responsibility to develop this resource:

... there are great supplies of fish in the waters that wash the reef. Other countries are beginning to comment that Australia does not appreciate the real worth of this wonderful fishing ground... many world famous fishermen such as Zane Grey are going to New Zealand to fish. We should make more use of these gifts of nature... otherwise some other nation may lay claim to the utilities there to our permanent loss...¹⁴⁰

Tourism interests too realized the significance of Grey's influence and were mentioning him in tourist guides by 1935.¹⁴¹ Despite film and television stars such as Bob and Dolly Dwyer, Ernest Borgnine and Lee Marvin, and politicians such as Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser fishing for marlin in the region, Cairns was only able to boast four boats specially rigged for game fishing by the 1960s,¹⁴² rising to 15 for the 1971 season.¹⁴³ A cartoon produced in 1971 highlights the 'size' of the industry in the minds of the Dwyers at least.¹⁴⁴ (see Figure 2.17) Cairns was still failing to capitalise on the potential of its game fishing industry in the 1970s with the influential travel magazine *Walkabout* describing the facilities of the region in scathing terms:

... no facilities... no top crews... Cairns marina is worse than archaic by international standards... with the tide out, the harbour is a slum, festooned with garbage and stinking with effluvia from Perfume Creek... [the facilities were] criticised by visiting Brisbane University scientists to no avail... private enterprise wants to build a marina but it is opposed by the authorities... visitors scramble down the rotting pilings of Hayles Wharf or paddle out across the mud and debris in a skiff...¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ 'Uncle Dick's Column,' *Ibid.*, 21 October 1930, p. 10.

¹⁴¹ See for example C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, pp. 240 & 259.

¹⁴² *This is Beautiful Far North Queensland*, circa 1960s, no publishing details, no page numbers.

¹⁴³ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for 1970-71*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ *Cairns: fun in the sun*, (Cairns, 1971), no page number. The cartoonist for this book was Ashley J. Smith.

¹⁴⁵ V. McCristal, "For the Marlin Men of Cairns: four yards of fish is not enough," *Walkabout*, February 1970, vol. 36, no. 2, p. 22.



Figure 2.17: 'The Reef region hosts many interesting characters....' (Cairns Fun in the Sun, 1971)

Although the implementation of the Tourist Board's recommendations proved an uneven process, it effectively set the direction for the development of the Reef as a playground for tourists. Developments included the establishment of the Underwater Observatory, Marineland Melanesia and accommodation on Green Island during the 1950s, and the progressive upgrading of facilities on Dunk Island. By 1971 the latter included the 'Presidential Lodge,' a golf course, archery and clay pigeon shooting ranges, a glass bottomed boat moored on the outer reef, and cruises from the island.¹⁴⁶

Despite the report's recommendations Fitzroy Island was the last of the islands to develop significant tourism infrastructure. In 1968 a 30 year lease was granted to Fitzroy Island Pty Ltd covering an area of 9 acres at a rent of £200 per annum.¹⁴⁷ By 1971 it appears that the lessee was not meeting the requirements of the lease.¹⁴⁸ At some point after this Fitzroy Island Resort was established by a group including Ansett Trailways.¹⁴⁹ In 1986 the Hayles Company purchased Ansett Trailways' controlling interest in Fitzroy Island Resort, its major competitor in the region, with the intention of marketing the Island as a youth and backpacker destination.¹⁵⁰ The sale of the Company to Dreamworld in 1987 meant that the development of the island was left to others.

¹⁴⁶ *Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin*, circular no. 118, March 1971, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ TRI794/1: SL 3250, 1920 – 1994. QSA.

¹⁴⁸ A Land Agent's report dated 21 December 1971 noted that the lessee was attempting to consolidate the shore frontage by planting coconuts. The Company however had failed to commence construction of tourism infrastructure prior to 30 June 1971 and had not entered into an agreement or negotiations with QGTB regarding the conduct of the resort, and the provision and maintenance of transport to and from the island. Improvements to the property included a shed and septic system valued at £2,740.00, and clearing of undergrowth and leveling of land valued at £80. The shed was used as living quarters by J.H. Scott, a director of the Company. 'Land Agents Report, 21 December 1971,' in *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁹ Ansett Trailways owned 51% of the shares and Tony Richards of Alice Springs and Reg Tinny 49%. J. O'Donoghue, *A Magnetic Life*, p. 101.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

Few visitors to the region got to see the reef proper due to transportation problems and time constraints associated with cruise ship timetables allowing only four days in Cairns. During the 1920s the Cairns Harbour Board advised tourists wishing to view the reef to arrange parties and hire the 'Malanda' or the 'Townsville'.¹⁵¹ During the 1930s a scheduled weekly service to Green Island, the reef's only point of entry in the Cairns area at this time, was introduced¹⁵² and maintained through the 1940s. This service was provided by the Hayles vessel 'Merinda' on Sundays during the off season to cater for locals and on Sundays and Thursdays during the tourist season.¹⁵³ The timing was to coincide with the timetables of cruise ships in the port.¹⁵⁴ By the 1960s tourist numbers had increased and daily scheduled trips to Green Island were in place.¹⁵⁵

Many early tourists had only vague ideas of what the reef was and what it should look like. Some thought of it as a solid bank of living coral which rose sheer out of the ocean and others, standing on Green Island, were disappointed that they could not see it.¹⁵⁶ The Cairns and Tableland Publicity Association (CTPA), the Cairns Naturalists' Club and travel writers sought to correct this from the 1930s. In 1933 the Cairns Naturalists' Club organised a system of qualified guides who for a small fee conducted parties and instructed them in the geology, flora, marine biology and general character of the reef and islands.¹⁵⁷ Thomas Wood attempted to explain what the reef was in 1934:

¹⁵¹ Cairns Harbour Board, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Cairns Harbour Board*, 1925, p. 25.

¹⁵² *Cairns Post*, 1 November 1930, p. 4.

¹⁵³ Advertisement titled "Green Island Barrier Reef," in V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Tourist brochure titled 'Tours from Cairns,' 1955. A/19182: Labour and Tourism Department, General Correspondence Batches. North Queensland Local Government Association Batches. QSA.

¹⁵⁵ Boats left daily at 9.30am for Green Island. QGTB, *Day Tours Round and About Cairns*, no page number.

¹⁵⁶ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

... First, it is not *a* Reef, a long breakwater tastefully coloured pink, which you can walk along, dry-shod. It is *the* Reef, built by the coral animal under the sea: a range of submarine limestone mountains whose valleys are shallow channels and whose peaks are awash. This is the surprise. You expect a wall and you find the ocean. If you sail north along the coast from Brisbane to Thursday Island in a deep-water vessel, you do not wonder that Captain Cook did not suspect there was a reef at all until he ran aground on a spur of it. Not until you are above Port Douglas do you see the blue change to apple green, in patches, on your starboard hand, and the deadly niggerheads¹⁵⁸ emerge, backed by a line of snowy surf... it is a Barrier indeed, against the rollers of that be flattered ocean: you sail in a lagoon. But apart from this brief glimpse you do not see it – from a big ship. You cannot, unless you go and search in a small one. You see instead, islands. A broken line of them lies between the coast and the Reef...¹⁵⁹

Reef tourism was important to the development of Cairns as a unique and exotic destination. Development of infrastructure was slow despite the association of well known people such as Zane Grey and Lee Marvin with the game fishing industry. Private companies such as Hayles and individuals including Noel Monkman, Lloyd Grigg and Vince Vlasoff were responsible for much of the infrastructure development on Green Island.¹⁶⁰ The construction of the Green Island Underwater Observatory by Vlasoff and Grigg in 1953 is the most significant postwar development in reef tourism prior to 1980. By 1983 Green Island was one of 15 Queensland island resorts.¹⁶¹

Themed attractions

Major exhibitions and theme parks play a role in the development of tourism and destinations. International cultural displays became popular initially with London's Great Exhibition in 1851 and the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Australia followed these trends, contributing exhibits to London's Great Exhibition in 1851. Inter-colonial

¹⁵⁸ Masses of coral standing up like big ant-hills.

¹⁵⁹ T. Wood, *Cobbers*, third edition, (Melbourne, 1961), p. 219.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 11 for a more detailed treatment of Green Island.

¹⁶¹ Economic Associates Australia, *Green Island Economic Study*, June 1983, p. 37.

exhibitions were popular prior to 1900. Exhibitions were held in Sydney and Melbourne in 1880 and Melbourne in 1888, attracting 1.1, 1.3 and 2 million visitors respectively.¹⁶² Based on the Great Exhibition of London, the inter-colonial exhibitions showcased each colony's wares along with international industrial and agricultural technology and goods. Associated with the exhibitions were sideshows, art displays and concert programmes and these were enormously popular with the public. Seen by some commentators as the first amusement parks due to "...their element of the exotic supplied by foreign displays, they also provided an ersatz sense of travel for the masses..."¹⁶³

Theme parks such as Luna Park and Dreamland at Coney Island were established in 1904,¹⁶⁴ an initiative followed in Australia with the development of Luna Park at St Kilda in December 1912. Pleasure gardens were recreated here too with a copy of London's Cremorne Gardens in the 1850s on Sydney's Robertson Point. This attraction offered "... an Italian walk, an Avenue, a Serpentine Maze, supper rooms and park furniture...[and] there were dances and fireworks..."¹⁶⁵ Demand for these was such that every colonial botanic garden was pressured to become a pleasure park. Zoos and safari parks followed.

After the turn of the 20th century event-based attractions such as the 1956 Melbourne Olympics emerged as popular reasons to travel, with Melbourne hosting the games in 1956. Associated with these events and attractions were increasingly sophisticated

¹⁶² M. Quanchi, "The Power of Pictures: learning by-looking at Papua in illustrated newspapers and magazines," *Australian Historical Studies*, 2004, no. 123, p. 38.

¹⁶³ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁴ A. Machin, "Datascapes: tourism and the historical geography of knowledge," *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 2000, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 362.

¹⁶⁵ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 71.

services such as accommodation, entertainment venues, pools and sports fields.¹⁶⁶ The Cairns region participated in events tourism in limited ways. One was through international sporting events, the first in Cairns being in 1932 when the Far North Queensland rugby league team played England at the Cairns Showground.¹⁶⁷ In May 1962 with the encouragement of the QGTB Cairns held its inaugural annual festival which was initially called the 'Tourist Carnival'.¹⁶⁸ It was timed to coincide with the opening of the modified Platypus Jetty, the major embarkation point for visitors to Green Island,¹⁶⁹ where the opening of the refurbished 'Coral Cay Resort' was celebrated.¹⁷⁰ This event was made a highlight of the Carnival. The Carnival included a procession through the streets, an Aquatic Festival, and a "cavalcade of launches" to Green Island.¹⁷¹ The QGTB arranged for the festival to be filmed, the result of which was 'Frontier of the Future'.¹⁷² This festival was renamed 'Fun in the Sun' in 1963.¹⁷³ Staging of festivals such as 'Fun in the Sun' contributed to the development of consciousness about the region and reinforced Cairns and its hinterland as an entertaining tropical destination. Today the festival, now known as 'Festival Cairns' is on the verge of becoming an international event with a program including sport, art, music, dance, food and wine in a mixture of free community events and ticketed shows.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁶ P. Pearce, P. Benckendorff & S. Johnstone, "Tourist Attractions," p. 113.

¹⁶⁷ Cairns Post, *Moments in Time: sport*, (Cairns, 2003), p. 18.

¹⁶⁸ See File no. 4008/63, letter dated 25 July 1963 from the Premier's Department, Brisbane to Mr. C. Williams, Town Clerk, Cairns City Council, in A/19397. QSA.

¹⁶⁹ Cairns Harbour Board, *The Fifty-fifth Annual Report, for year ended 30.06.6*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ J. O'Donoghue, *A Magnetic Life*, p. 85.

¹⁷¹ "Official Opening of New Green Island Jetty: colourful processions on land sea proposed," *Cairns Post*, 29 March 1962, p. 9.

¹⁷² See File no. 4008/63, letter dated 25 July 1963. QSA.

¹⁷³ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Cairns Chamber of Commerce Annual Report for 1963 - 64*, p. 2. It has since been renamed the 'Reef Festival'.

¹⁷⁴ D. Tipper, "Festival of dreams launched," *Cairns Post*, 13 August 2005, p. 11.

Themed attractions continued on a larger scale after World War II with the creation of Disneyland and followed by imitators such as Dreamworld in Australia; Gardaland in Italy; and Gold Reef City in South Africa. In Far North Queensland, during the late 20th century, themed attractions based on the rainforest and Aboriginal culture were developed: the Skyrail Rainforest Cableway and Tjapukai Cultural Park.¹⁷⁵ Some commentators felt that even earlier, in the late 1960s, Green Island had "... the look of a well-trampled fairground featuring a multi-coloured exhibition building, the Coral Cay Hotel...¹⁷⁶ complete with piped Hawaiian music. This was still the case in the 1980s when the Island was described as having "...almost an amusement-park quality..."¹⁷⁷ By this time its attractions included Marineland Melanesia, the Barrier Reef Theatre, glass bottom boats, the Underwater Observatory, a resort, and a dive shop, all crowded onto a small coral cay.¹⁷⁸ This was encapsulated in a cartoon published in the *Canberra Times* which poked fun at the artificiality of the Barrier Reef resorts.¹⁷⁹ (see Figure 2.18)

Conclusion

Tourism in Cairns followed many of the trends seen in other parts of Australia. However due to the region's relatively late development some themes such as tourism for health remained underdeveloped. Although health spas were established, their infrastructure remained basic and Beachview aside, failed to develop beyond a local attraction.

¹⁷⁵ P. Pearce, P. Benckendorff & S. Johnstone, "Tourist Attractions," pp. 113 – 114, 121.

¹⁷⁶ Patricia Clare is an Australian journalist and fiction writer. P. Clare, *The Struggle for the Great Barrier Reef*, (Sydney, 1971), p. 44.

¹⁷⁷ D. Stranger, *Queensland Islands: a travel and holiday guide*, (Victoria, 1989), p. 156.

¹⁷⁸ See Chapter 11 for a full discussion of the attractions of Green Island.

¹⁷⁹ G. Pryor, *Canberra Times*, 29 March 1987. Pryor Collection of cartoons and drawings, 1978 – 1988. Australian National University.



Figure 2.18: 'Oh darling – it's just heaven.' (PIC/3702/46, National Library of Australia)

Difficulty in accessing particularly Innot Hot Springs was an important factor. In addition, their development came on the tail end of this trend and it is likely that the long cruise from Sydney or Melbourne sufficed for many travellers in search of health. Seaside resorts, particularly those at Double Island beach and Yorkeys Knob were more successful in attracting 'tired travellers.'

Events based tourism played a small but important role in the development of Cairns' image. The 'Fun in the Sun' Festival was filmed and screened by the QGTB and highlighted the Region's adventurous and exciting tropical image. Events such as these also contributed to regional consciousness as the ideas and images portrayed provided a vehicle by which inhabitants and outsiders alike could identify themselves.

Perhaps the most highly contested tourism landscape from the 1930s was the Great Barrier Reef. This conflict occurred between particularly the lime mining industry and tourism interests as access became easier. It is important to note that prior to the development of viewing technology such as glass bottom boats and advances in colour film techniques, the main concerns of the tourism industry lay with the effect of lime mining on the Reef's birdlife rather than its coral and fish. The more 'benign' activities of resort development on Green and Dunk Islands were viewed favourably and were in fact encouraged by government and industry reports, until development was curbed by the stronger ecological consciousness after 1970.

CHAPTER THREE: The Development of Transport Infrastructure in Australia and North Queensland

Introduction

Travelling to and within Australia, whether for pleasure or otherwise, was a slow and often uncomfortable undertaking until after World War Two, when ships became more comfortable due to being purpose built for tourism, and rail carriages and roads were upgraded. Before the increased development of the island resorts during the 1930s services required for the existence of mainland attractions were minimal and most, such as 'Fairyland Tea Gardens' and the 'Maze' near Kuranda, tended to be located near railways. However once the Great Barrier Reef and its island resorts became more easily accessible and caught the public's imagination, the services required for tourism became more important and complex. A striking feature of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region is the provision of increasingly sophisticated transport infrastructure which serviced simple and often basic tourism infrastructure. Apart from 'tourist roads,' though, little of this transport infrastructure was provided with tourism in mind.

Shipping routes, railways and roads were important in the development of the tourism cultural landscape of Cairns and its hinterland. The major modes of travel were ships until the 1950s and railways. Cairns was fortunate in being able to exploit a railway network built essentially for mining. It was sheer coincidence that it ran past the Barron Falls, through rainforest which could be turned to tourist uses, and out to the caves at Chillagoe.

The Roads

Roads were difficult to establish and maintain due to lack of resources¹ and were neglected in Far North Queensland until the 1920s, when State government funding was made available for more roads including 'tourist roads' to scenic areas. This led to a number of 'tourist roads' being developed in the Cairns region including the roads to Crystal Cascades, Lake Eacham, Tully Falls and the Cook Highway.² It also resulted in the Gillies Highway, the first road purposely built to link with the Atherton Tableland for cars. This opened up for tourists the much extolled view of the Mulgrave Valley obtained from Heales Lookout. (see Figure 3.1)

Bad Roads however did not stop adventurous travellers from making the trip north by road. One of the earliest trips to Cairns was by A.E. Filby in 1923 who travelled from Mackay to Cairns and back. After traversing the Tully River on a sinking "...sampan or banana boat with boards put across from side to side and then two planks put parallel on top... [to accommodate the car],"³ Filby attempted to continue toward Innisfail. Daunted by fences erected across the road, burnt out bridges and an overgrown track, he arranged for his car to be railed through to Innisfail. On the stretch between Innisfail and Babinda, Filby encountered tree stumps so high that each side of the 'stumps had to be

¹ J. Richardson, *A History of Australia*, p. 25.

² See Table showing roads gazetted to 30th June 1933, and details of surveys conducted, plans prepared, and work in hand and completed thereon during year ended 30 June 1933, in 'The 12th Annual Report of the commissioner of Main Roads for year ended 30 June 1933,' *Votes and Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1933, p. 1091.

³ M. Diamond, *From Bulldust to Beef Roads and Beyond: main roads – the first fifty years*, no publishing details, p. 11.



Figure 3.1: View from Heales Lookout on the Gillies Highway, c. 1950s. (*Cairns & District: see Australia first, Gympie*)

built up' to allow the car clearance. After the stumps he was then enveloped in a tunnel of scrub which came "...right up on both sides [of the car] and also right down on the hood..."⁴ He declared the road between Gordonvale and Cairns to be 'pretty good' and extraordinarily viewed the road between Townsville and Cairns as being in "...wonderful condition..."⁵

In 1930 two men drove from Adelaide to Cairns, a journey that took a month;⁶ and in 1935 four people, including Brooke Nicholls, an amateur naturalist, and novelist Frank Dalby Davison, left Sydney intending to travel to Cairns with a caravan. They abandoned their car and caravan in Maryborough and continued to Cairns by rail. The outcome of their trip was the book *Blue Coast Caravan*,⁷ and a chapter is devoted to the state of Queensland's roads:

...Queensland's roads are dreadful. This is not a complaint, merely a statement of fact. The Northern State is large and sparsely populated. If the condition of her highways is good enough for her own haulage requirements she is under no obligation to put down concrete for the pleasure of southern motorists. She doesn't! Brisbane puts a tar macadam highway under the wheels of the north-bound traveller for about thirty miles and then abruptly leaves him [sic] to his own devices. From then onward the main coast road is not much more than a bush track in bad condition; in many cases it *is* a bush track...⁸

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶ "Across Australia: Adelaide to Cairns," *Cairns Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 4. These men were P.H.E. Runge and L. Garland. They travelled via Broken Hill, Bourke, Hungerford, Thargomindah, Quilpie, Barcaldine, Blackall, Pentland, Lyndhurst, Herberton and Yungaburra.

⁷ F. Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, (Sydney, 1935). Davison and Nicholls sought to emulate the success of writers such as Clune and Idriess and write a travel book on the scenic wonders of the east coast of Australia including the Cairns region. Instead they found a ruined environment with eroded soils, denuded forests, unregulated development and unattractive human-made constructions. As a result of this journey *Blue Coast Caravan* emerged to become a scathing critique of national development policies. S. Samuels (Ed), *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 260: *Australian writers 1915 – 1950*, (London, 2002), p. 75. Brooke Nicholls, a dentist was one of the 'Woodlanders' along with Charles Barrett and Claude Kinane, who in the early 1900s set up a 'bush camp' at the foot of the Dandenong Ranges. They retreated to 'Walden' frequently to experience nature. M. Mulligan & S. Hill, *Ecological Pioneers: a social history of Australian ecological thought and action*, (Melbourne, 2001), p. 113.

⁸ F. Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, p. 116.

Further work on roads occurred during World War Two when upgrading was required for the transportation of Australian and American troops. In 1942 when the troops were mobilised few main roads in Queensland were bitumen paved and in the Far North many roads were narrow and rough, a situation which worsened during the region's wet season. Further upgrading of roads continued after the war. This was due to a marked increase in car ownership and changing attitudes toward recreation.⁹ Nevertheless long distance road travel did not become feasible for the holiday maker until 1963 when the bitumening of the Bruce Highway was completed. The impetus to create a 'tourist highway' along the coast began in the 1940s but was a very slow and expensive process.¹⁰ With road travel so difficult, it is not surprising that sea and rail provided access to the region for most tourists.

Shipping services

By 1887 the P & O Line and the Orient Line, at the behest of the British Post Office, alternated with each other to provide fortnightly sailings to Australia and ensure a weekly mail service to the colonies.¹¹ Other companies plied this route¹² but the Orient Line in particular was popular with Australian travellers due to its all-white crews, relaxed dress standards and better treatment of third class passengers.¹³ For most of the 20th century

⁹ By 1915 there were 38,000 cars nationwide. *Ibid.*, p. 46. Car ownership increased from 15 per thousand people in 1921 to 72 per thousand in 1938. J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 74.

¹⁰ By 1954 only 731 of the 1205 miles of this highway was bitumen. "Increased Tourist Activity: survey of North's facilities," *Cairns Post*, 23 June 1962.

¹¹ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 46 & 55.

¹² Other shipping companies servicing this route included the White Star Line, The Aberdeen Line, the Shaw Savill Albion Line, the Union Line, Messageries Maritimes, and Norddeutscher Lloyd. *Ibid.*, pp. 46 – 47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

overall numbers of tourists travelling to Australia were small. From 1925 until 1955 they did not exceed 50,000 per annum.¹⁴ Most travelled by ship despite Imperial Airways offering a twice weekly service from London to Australia by 1938¹⁵ and the existence of feeder airlines in regional areas such as Cairns.¹⁶ By 1964 this had dramatically reversed with arrivals by ship decreasing to less than 20,000 and 129,000 visitors arriving by aeroplane.¹⁷

The inter-war years, 1918 – 1939, are considered something of a golden era for tourism in general and for cruises in particular. Advances in shipping, rail and aviation coupled with more leisure time in the form of one week's annual leave for those in full employment from 1936 ushered in dramatic changes in the tourism industry. People now had more time to travel, and travel was no longer solely the domain of the wealthy. Despite the Depression years cruises came into their own during this period. Ships became larger, faster and quieter. Many of these ocean liners became household names and were noted for their luxurious appointments, large cabins with portholes, comfortable viewing decks and the introduction of a 'tourist class' on some liners.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 88.

¹⁶ By 1936 two airlines were providing services from Cairns: North Queensland Airways which incorporated McDonald Aviation Service, and Airlines of Australia Ltd. The latter service provided flights to Sydney via Brisbane, Rockhampton and Townsville. Cairns Harbour Board, *Cairns and District, North Queensland*, p. 63.

¹⁷ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 284.

¹⁸ In 1928 P & O introduced a third class section on one of its ships. Such was the demand for this service due to the British £10 migrant and Australians going on working holidays to England that in 1936 two ships were entirely refitted as 'tourist class.' *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Due to the late settlement of Cairns, inter-colonial and local shipping infrastructure was well developed. Cairns was serviced regularly by packet ships by the 1870s.¹⁹ Shipping companies such as Adelaide Steamship Company, Burns Philp & Co., Australasian United Steam Navigation Company (A.U.S.N.), and the Howard Smith line provided this service during the 1880s. Competition was fierce between companies, and vessels were progressively upgraded. In the 1890s shipping services became more frequent when the Adelaide Steamship Company introduced a new weekly service on the S.S. *Victorian*, from Cairns to southern ports and Western Australia.²⁰ Separate cabins were available on this vessel if desired. Two A.U.S.N. vessels, the '*Palmer*' and the '*Kuranda*,' regularly serviced the Cairns to Townsville mail route during the 1890s,²¹ enabling passengers to change to ships bound for southern ports. The '*Wyreema*,' another A.U.S.N. vessel, provided a cruising experience between Cairns and Melbourne prior to 1900.²² By 1911 the *Wyreema* was providing a weekly service from Melbourne to Cairns via Sydney, Brisbane and other principal Queensland ports, and the '*Kuranda*' and '*Palmer*' ran weekly from Townsville to Cairns, Port Douglas and Cooktown.²³ The *Wyreema* was credited with having:

...greatly increased the popularity of the famous scenic trip to North Queensland ...[and] has been pronounced superior in some respects to anything that Europe, Asia or America has to offer. It may be compared to the voyage from the Northern States of America to the balmy regions of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, but it offers the advantage of over 2,000 miles run in smooth water...²⁴

¹⁹ A packet ship was one that had been commissioned by the government to carry mail between designated ports. Passengers were able to purchase an all inclusive passenger fare on these vessels. J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 27.

²⁰ *Cairns Argus*, 29 August 1893.

²¹ These ships belonged to the Australian United Steam Navigation Company Ltd (A.U.S.N.) 'Tramp,' 'Coastal Reminiscences,' *C&C*, November 1934, vol. 5, no. 91, p. 35.

²² The '*Wyreema*' was part of the A.U.S.N. fleet. The frequency of this service is not known. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²³ *Picturesque Travel*, p. 53.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

This 'famous scenic trip' had been praised frequently in tourism literature since the early 1890s. In 1891 a steamship travel brochure described the voyage through the Hinchinbrook Channel thus:

...the glories of the channel, which I can compare to nothing in scenery save the Thousand Islands, so full of beautiful variety it is. Here falls a stream down the mountain side; there crowd up to the bare summits of strong hills thick legions of trees, and gorge and gully come and go...²⁵

Many of A.U.S.N.'s cruise vessels called into Cairns "...where the famous Barron Falls are well worth visiting..."²⁶ on their way to Singapore or Hong Kong where passengers changed ship for other parts of Asia, London, or North America.²⁷

The 'Wyreema' was removed from service in 1926 and was replaced by the 'Orungal' and the 'Ormiston' in 1927.²⁸ Both of these ships plied the Melbourne to Cairns route and became household names on the eastern seaboard due to their frequency of visits during the winter tourist season. (Appendix 1) In 1929 Adelaide Steamship Company introduced two new ships to the route, the 'Manunda' and the 'Westralia.' The 'Manunda' was a purpose built cruise ship and as such more emphasis was placed on passenger comfort. It accommodated only 176 first class and 136 second class

²⁵ British India and Queensland Agency Co. Ltd, *Handbook, no. 2 (1891 – 1892)*, p. 45.

²⁶ See 'Through to London Tours and Round the World:' Cruise No. 1. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁷ The A.U.S.N. company offered five types of cruise and within these categories a number of vessels included Cairns on their itinerary: Circular Cruises in the Islands: Cruises No. 1 and 7; Cruises Round the Indies: Cruises No. 1, 2 and 4; Cruises Through the Pacific: Cruises No. 1, 2, 3 and 4; Through to London Tours and Round the World: Cruise No.1; and Special Tours: Cruises No. 1 and 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105, 107 & 111.

²⁸ P. Plowman, *Passenger Ships of Australia and New Zealand: vol.2, 1913 – 1980*, (Sydney 1981), p. 80. These ships were purchased by A.U.S.N. from the Khedivial Mail Steamship Company, a subsidiary of P & O. The 'Orungal' was originally known as the 'Fezara' and the 'Ormiston' the 'Famaka.' The ships were refurbished for 240 passengers in a single class before entering the Cairns to Melbourne service.

passengers, far fewer than ships built previously.²⁹ It operated between Melbourne and Cairns during the winter months, going on to the Fremantle service for the remainder of the year. In 1935 the *'Manoora'*³⁰ joined Adelaide Steamship's service and the *'Mamunda'* was placed on the Cairns to Melbourne route all year round until she was requisitioned for the war effort in 1939. In 1936 McIlwraith McEacharn Ltd introduced a new vessel to Cairns to Melbourne winter service, the *'Kanimbla.'* She was destined to be the largest and the last ship built for this service.³¹ She too was requisitioned by the Australian Government for war time duties in 1939. The importance of these ships to the Cairns community is demonstrated by their names later being attached to suburbs.

After the war many cruise ships were involved in bringing the Australian troops home. It was not until 1949-50 that they were refitted for their former cruising activities. The *'Orungal'* and *'Ormiston'* did not return to their prewar Melbourne to Cairns service.³² The *'Mamunda,'* *'Manoora'* and *'Kanimbla'* resumed their winter cruise service between Melbourne and Cairns in 1948, 1949 and 1950 respectively.³³ During the late 1940s and early 1950s P & O launched its most luxurious liners to date with the *Himalaya* in 1949

²⁹ The *'Mamunda'* was built in Glasgow by William Beardmore & Co. It had a gross tonnage of 9,155 and was capable of 15 knots. This twin screw vessel was the first large liner on the coastal service to utilise diesel engines. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁰ The *'Manoora'* was built in 1935 in Glasgow by A. Stephen & Sons. She had a gross tonnage of 10,856 and a service speed of 16 knots. This was a twin screwed vessel powered by diesel engines. Despite her size she had accommodation for only 250 first class passengers and 130 second class passengers. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³¹ The *'Kanimbla'* was a twin-screw, diesel powered ship built by Harland & Wolff in Belfast in 1936. She had a gross tonnage of 10,985 and a service speed of 17 knots. Accommodation included 203 first class berths and 198 second class berths. After the war she was refurbished to cater for 231 first class and 125 second class passengers. *Ibid.*, pp. 136 & 138.

³² The *'Orungal'* hit rocks off Sydney in 1940 and was sold off for scrap in 1941. The *'Ormiston'* resumed her cruising duties in 1947 but was used on other routes. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 130.

for its Australian run followed by the *Oriana* and the *Canberra*.³⁴ However the government and the shipping companies were slow in recognising the impact of the rapid technological changes that brought about cheaper and faster air travel, revolutionised and institutionalised communication systems, and most significantly for Australian domestic tourism, mass car travel, which imposed new patterns on leisure activities.³⁵ By the 1960s the luxury liners could not compete with air travel and after the Suez Canal was closed in 1967, P & O stopped its scheduled service between Britain and Australia.³⁶ Domestically, during the 1960s people tended to favour the car over ships and rail, but when travelling overseas air travel became the dominant mode of travel. The era of coastal cruising between Melbourne and Cairns was over with the withdrawal from service of the '*Manunda*' in 1956,³⁷ the '*Kanimbla*' in 1958,³⁸ and the '*Manoora*' in 1961.³⁹ Other shipping companies withdrew their regular visits to Cairns during this decade also including BP's '*Malaita*' and '*Bulolo*' in 1962;⁴⁰ and John Burke Ltd's '*Nyora*' and '*Kuranda*' in 1963⁴¹ and '*Waiben*' in 1966.⁴² Although the regular services ceased, cruise ships called sporadically into Cairns from the mid 1960s, but they were no longer an integral part of the local tourist industry.

The demise of sea travel by the mid 1960s was challenging for the tourist industry in Cairns. With at least 14 vessels formerly entering the port each season carrying 350

³⁴ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 130.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ The '*Manunda*' was sold to Japanese interests. P. Plowman, *Passenger Ships of Australia*, p. 90.

³⁸ After withdrawal from coastal service the '*Kanimbla*' provided twice yearly cruises from Melbourne to Hong Kong and Japan. In 1961 she was sold to a Liberian registered company. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁹ The '*Manoora*' was sold to the Indonesian government. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁴⁰ Cairns Harbour Board, *The 56th Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1962*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *The 57th Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1963*, p. 6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, *The 60th Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1966*, p. 5.

passengers, this was seen as a major blow to the region.⁴³ Between 1964 and 1969 only 7 vessels berthed in Cairns.⁴⁴ A travel industry appraisal of the region in 1971 still failed to appreciate the full impact of the quickening pace of life and the car and aeroplane on patterns of travel when it lamented the demise of cruise ship services. The report suggested that the transportation of cars on ships would encourage ship travel during the traditional winter season.⁴⁵

Large luxurious cruise ships continued to visit Australian ports but the majority of tourists chose to fly to their destination and enjoy the water in other ways. These changes heralded a new way of utilising the waterways of Australia and elsewhere. No longer was the cruise ship seen as a means of traveling between countries and ports; it was now an “instrument of pleasure”.⁴⁶ Small boats became more important in tourist activity. Boats for hire had always been available in the nation’s harbours and river systems for sightseeing, fishing and other recreation. Houseboats had been operating on the Murray River since 1946 but by the 1970s these boats reached new levels of luxury. With the expansion of island resorts by the airlines during the 1970s the east coast waterways and islands became increasingly popular with holiday makers and the Whitsunday Islands led the way with yachting cruises. In Far North Queensland these new types of water based activities are considered to be the beginning of operations by Quicksilver Connections in

⁴³ “Loss to Tourist Trade,” *Cairns Post*, 6 February 1961, p. 3.

⁴⁴ The ‘*Kuala Lumpur*’ made two trips to Cairns in 1967; the first in July carrying 165 passengers and in September with 415 passengers. The first trip was an overnight stop and the second a day stop only. The ‘*Koolama*’ called in with an average of 80 passengers and stayed for one day in the months of July, September and November. *Ibid.* The ‘*Flavia*’ made three visits over this period, the ‘*Fairsky*,’ ‘*Fairsea*’ and ‘*Changsha*’ made one visit each, the ‘*Oriental Queen*’ three visits, the ‘*Kuala Lumpur*’ four visits, and the ‘*Koolama*’ nine visits. Cairns Harbour Board Annual Reports for the years ended 30 June 1964, 30 June 1966, 30 June 1967, 30 June 1968 & 30 June 1969.

⁴⁵ ANTA, “Travel Industry Appraisal,” p. v-3.

⁴⁶ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 130.

1979.⁴⁷ Game fishing mother ships which became a feature of the region's water ways in the early 1970s were typically well appointed with dining and sleeping facilities, a maid service, chef and running fresh water.⁴⁸

Rather simpler water based excursions have been a feature of local tourism since the 1880s when locals visited Green Island for picnics and fishing. In 1890 trips to the island became somewhat more organised when the 'Zeus' began to provide an as- required service to the island.⁴⁹ As noted earlier, island ferry services became more frequent and regular. Organised local cruises to enjoy the romance of the tropical waters in small boats was capitalised upon as early as 1899 when visitors and residents were able to enjoy moonlight trips on Burns Philp's vessel S.S. 'Victory.' Passengers experienced "... twenty miles of steaming for 2s. 6d. adults; children, half-price [with] special arrangements for picnic or fishing parties..."⁵⁰ During the 1920s tourists had to hire a boat if they wished to visit the reef. By the 1930s scheduled trips to Green Island were being introduced and were provided on Sundays during the off season and twice a week during the tourist season. It was not until the 1960s that daily trips to Green Island were introduced.⁵¹ In 1971, a trochus lugger, the M.V. 'Paladin,' was adapted as a cruise vessel operating out of Cairns. It specialised in cruises for 'skin divers and underwater

⁴⁷ Quicksilver Connections began with one modest boat, the *Martin Cash*, carrying passengers to Low Isles. Quicksilver was the first major company to operate the Outer Barrier Reef cruises. Their signature wave piercing catamarans *Quicksilver V* and *Quicksilver VIII* were launched in 1988. The company circumnavigated Australia in *Quicksilver V* in 1989 to promote the reef and its Port Douglas based operation. Since then another two catamarans and a live aboard dive vessel have been added to the fleet. "Quicksilver is the Great Barrier Reef," *Port Douglas and Mossman Gazette*, pp. 2, 5.

⁴⁸ D. Dodds, "The Cairns Black Marlin Industry," in *The Cairns Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 509, February 2004.

⁴⁹ D. Jones, *Trinity Phoenix: a history of Cairns*, (Cairns, 1976), p. 97.

⁵⁰ See advertisement for "Burns, Philp & Co., Ltd.," in the *Cairns Morning Post*, 14 June, 1899, p. 4.

⁵¹ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 12; QGTB, *Tours from Cairns*, 1955; and QGTB, *Day Tours Round and About Cairns*, no page number.

swimmers.’⁵² In 1976 a two hour cruise on the M.V. ‘*Kristiana*’ through the ‘Everglades’ was introduced. This cruise took passengers up the “...eerie winding waterways of Trinity Inlet at the base of Cairns Harbour...”⁵³ A new small cruise vessel, the ‘*Cheryl Anne*,’ began operating seven-day cruises out of Cairns in 1976. Her itinerary included Green, Lowe, Dunk and Lizard Islands, Michaelmas Cay and Cooktown.⁵⁴ During the 1980s an increasing number of launches began to offer day cruises, charters and organised tours on the region’s waterways. Five day cruises from Cairn to Cooktown were provided by the ‘*Reef Exodus*.’⁵⁵ By the 1990s Cairns was seen as a centre for water activity.

Rail travel

Rail travel helped to displace ships; although slow, it was cheap and provided services for tourists. As noted earlier the final link in the rail system from Brisbane to Cairns was completed in 1926, allowing travel from all parts of southern Australia to the North. Not only did this usher in a new era in tourism in the Cairns region⁵⁶ but it introduced new patterns of travel as it allowed travel beyond the local area to southern parts of the region such as Innisfail. A poet hailing the completion of the link enthused over the tourism prospects:

⁵² This cruise was operated by Mr. E.F. Kells who was an expert diver and qualified underwater instructor. The vessel was 52 feet long and carried 16 passengers. It was available for charter for \$90.00/ day plus five dollars/person/day for meals. The vessel carried a compressor for recharging aqualungs and diving gear was available but passengers were asked to provide their own regulator, mask and flippers. *Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin*, circular no. 125, October 1971, p. 2.

⁵³ This cruise was offered twice daily on an 11.5 metre vessel with seating for 30 passengers. A public address system was used to provide commentary on points of interest on the trip. *Ibid.*, circular no. 178, March 1976, pp. 3 & 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, circular no. 181, June 1976, pp. 2 & 3.

⁵⁵ This vessel had a capacity of 17 and had bar and lounge facilities. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ W.S. Cummings Economic Research Services, *Cairns and Far North Queensland Tourism Statistical Profile*, May 1994, p. 6. Prepared for the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau.

...Go forth, excursionists, and spread
 Through North and South,
 the tidings of a fair and fertile land,
 where noble trees wave welcome,
 and the rivers smile
 their invitations.
 Tell every people,
 of the North and South,
 of our perpetual verdure –
 of never failing seasons,
 and the glories of the landscape...⁵⁷

In 1933 a single first class rail fare from Melbourne to Cairns was £13/14/-, second class £8/11/6; from Sydney to Cairns £11/5/-, second class £6/18/6; and from Brisbane to Cairns £6/13/-, second class £3/17/-.⁵⁸ This was significantly cheaper than cruising to Cairns, especially the second class fares.⁵⁹ From 1929 this rail journey became known as the 'Sunshine Route'.⁶⁰ It was described by Charles Barrett as "the Sunlit Road of Adventure."⁶¹ The 'Sunshine Express' was introduced in 1935. These new tourist trains were comfortable and elaborately equipped. For this new service three wooden carriage sets were designed and included first and second class sitting and sleeping cars, kitchen and dining cars with wide-vision windows, a spacious observation platform with seating, and parlour cars fitted with revolving armchairs.⁶² (see Figure 3.2) Externally the

⁵⁷ W.J. Doherty, "The linking up of the railway near Innisfail," *C & C*, April 1930, vol. 4, no. 36, p. 37.

⁵⁸ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 13. Sleeping berth charges per night in Queensland were 15/- first class and 5/6 second class, in New South Wales 20/- first class, and in Victoria 20/-. Sleeping berths were not available for second class passengers in New South Wales and Victoria.

⁵⁹ In 1933 a first class fare from Melbourne to Cairns was £14/5/-, second class £17/12/6; from Sydney to Cairns first class £10/10/-, second class £13/7/6; and from Brisbane to Cairns first class fare £6/5/-, second class £7/5/-. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁰ R.F. Ellis, *Rails to the Tableland: the story of the Cairns Railway*, (Brisbane, 1976), p. 58.

⁶¹ C. Barrett, *The Sunlit Land: wanderings in Queensland*, (Melbourne, 1947), p. 3.

⁶² *Cairns and District, North Queensland*, p. 61. First class coaches were panelled with polished Queensland red cedar and upholstered with red chrome leather. Each second class sleeping cabin was fitted with three berths, a wash basin, a wardrobe and a hinged table. Iced water and hot water were available in every carriage. The lounge car was available to first class passengers free of charge. QGTB, *The Sunshine Route*, no page number.

'Sunshine cars' were varnished and were the largest carriages operating in Queensland.⁶³ The most innovative features of these new carriages were the use of roller bearings and the lining of floors and roofs with insulation to reduce noise and afford greater comfort during hot weather.⁶⁴ By 1938 the 'Sunshine Express' was making the journey from Cairns to Brisbane three times a week, a journey lasting two days.⁶⁵

In 1953 the 'Sunshine Express' was replaced by the 'Sunlander,' Queensland's first air-conditioned train service. These carriages were quite different from their predecessors with their all steel construction and blue and white livery.⁶⁶ The first 'Sunlander' service arrived in Cairns on 6 June 1953 where it was met by over 3,000 Cairns residents.⁶⁷ Passengers were full of praise for the new service, which boasted hot and cold water, lack of noise and dirt, up to the minute toilet features, extra carriage safety coupling, and smooth travelling. One passenger enthused: "the 'Sunlander' is like a mobile first class hotel incorporating every modern comfort and [is] an almost incredible improvement [on] the old fashioned [Queensland] trains..."⁶⁸ Another passenger commented:

... putting trains like the 'Sunlander' on the run will do more to attract tourists to North Queensland than a whole publishing house full of literature. They will come to the Far North just for the inclusive pleasure of riding in [it]...⁶⁹

The comfort of travelling on the 'Sunlander' was extensively advertised during the 1960s, particularly in *Walkabout*. (see Figure 3.3)

⁶³ Each car was 52 feet long and weighed between 27 and 30 tons. R.F. Ellis, *Rails to the Tableland*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ *Cairns and District, North Queensland*, p. 61.

⁶⁵ QGTB, *Cairns and Hinterland*, no page number.

⁶⁶ R.F. Ellis, *Rails to the Tableland*, pp. 58 – 59.

⁶⁷ *Cairns Post*, 8 June 1953, p. 3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*



Figure 3.2: Pre-World War Two grandstand carriage. (*Cairns-Kuranda Railway, 1882 – 1891*, circa 2000, p. 17)

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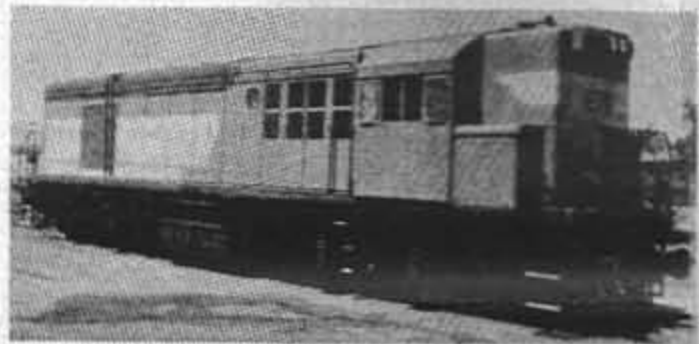


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- MIDLANDER — Rockhampton to Winton.
- INLANDER — Townsville to Mt. Isa.

WALKABOUT

Figure 3.3: Queensland's Air-conditioned trains. (*Walkabout*, April 1965, p. 8)

Until the mid 1950s the bulk of the tourist traffic to the region was carried by Queensland Rail. The introduction of the 'Sunlander' service came at a time when travel by train was declining, and air passenger movements, coach travel, and car registrations were increasing. The 'Sunlander' appears to have been in response to an uncomplimentary assessment of rail services made by the Tourist Development Board in its 1947 report:

... the standard of service provided by the railways [is] not adequate for the increasing tourist business. Complaints of punctuality, dependability, comfort, speed and cleanliness were received by the Board... Furthermore, the opinion of the Board was that the rail services were not structured to meet the needs of tourists...⁷⁰

During the 1950s both the Commonwealth and State Governments underestimated the impact of cars and air travel on rail usage. They assumed that patronage of the railways would continue to grow along with the growth in car ownership and the increasing popularity of air travel.⁷¹ This assumption was symbolised in Cairns with the opening in 1956 of a new railway station.⁷² Queensland Rail's faith is easily understood as this was a heady period: people were travelling to the region in ever increasing numbers; post-war shipping services had been re-established;⁷³ short feature films of the region were being screened all over Australia, as well as in Britain, America and Europe;⁷⁴ and the underwater observatory at Green Island had been opened.⁷⁵ Most significantly, the road link to the north was so poor it was being dubbed the 'goat track.'

⁷⁰ GBMPA, *Data Review*, p. 46.

⁷¹ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 292.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Cairns Post*, 30 August 1950, p. 5.

⁷⁴ 'Excerpts from the 1950 editions of the Cairns Post,' *Ibid.*, 15 April 2002, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for the year 1954*, p. 13.

During the 1960s Queensland Rail was beginning to feel the impact of the airlines particularly as businessmen found air travel more economic in terms of time and convenience. As a result this decade saw the Department focusing on providing an enhanced tourism experience. In 1962 Queensland Rail in conjunction with the QGTB introduced a new service, the 'Daylight Tour,' a designated tourist trip. This service operated between April and August. Five times during this period the train travelled between Brisbane and Cairns, only during daylight hours, so that the scenery could be enjoyed. Overnight stops were made at Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton and Bundaberg, where tours to local attractions were arranged.⁷⁶ The first of these 'Daylight Tours' carrying 53 tourists arrived in Cairns on 2 May 1962.⁷⁷ The carriages were refurbished for this service and included:

... bright interiors... of laminated plastic with colourful floor tiles, fluorescent lighting and exhaust fans. The seats [were] reversible and [had] headrests for the comfort of passengers. Refrigerated drinking water [was] provided...⁷⁸

The 'Daylight Tour' service increased in popularity and in 1970 a weekly service was introduced for the first time during the peak season. This resulted in a 20% increase in passenger numbers.

The popularity of the 'Daylight Tour' continued into the 1970s and in 1973 record advance bookings were received for the weekly or fortnightly service.⁷⁹ The fare of \$70

⁷⁶ *Cairns Post*, 17 January 1962, p. 1.

⁷⁷ The service had a capacity of 96 passengers. During 1962 the rail motors departed Cairns on the return journey to Brisbane on May 4, June 1, July 6 and August 3 and 31. *Ibid.*, 3 May 1962.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ 'Daylight tours' operated weekly during the tourist season and fortnightly in the off-season.

included all transport and accommodation.⁸⁰ The service was boosted from 26 to 30 tours in 1977 due to increasing tourist demand. This provided an extra 2,700 seats.⁸¹ However the popularity of rail travel began to wane during the 1980s particularly once Cairns International Airport was established in 1984 and those who travelled by Queensland Rail tended to be the poor, who could not afford a car or an airfare.

One of the most popular tourist attractions in Queensland in the 1890s was the Barron Falls. This was made accessible by the Cairns to Kuranda railway opened in 1891. Before long the journey to the Falls and Kuranda through the Barron Gorge was being extolled in tourism literature for both its scenic delights and as a marvel of engineering.⁸² One commentator described the journey as a 'scenic feast' as the train travelled through 15 tunnels and across 47 bridges:

... beside chasms...with a brawling stream beneath...On one side towers a precipitous wall of rock, sometimes broken by a mountain torrent, which from its source in the hills above, dashes down the sides of the range in a series of cataracts, and is generally almost hidden by the luxuriant foliage of scrub trees and ferns, that line its sides and find root hold in every available crevice in the rocks; on the other side one looks down upon a panorama which for sheer beauty is unsurpassed in Australasia, if not the world...⁸³

The local newspaper championed the journey and published visitors' views of the rail trip 'to the Highlands at the top of Australia's roof-tree':

...our climb to Kuranda was a series of most delightful surprises, and we...felt that, much as we had read and imagined of the scenery, the half had not been told or dreamt of. Beautiful panoramas of mountain, valley and a river of glass

⁸⁰ *Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin*, circular no. 144, May 1973.

⁸¹ The fare was increased to \$126. *Ibid.*, circular no. 189, February 1977.

⁸² The Cairns to Kuranda Scenic Railway will be recognised as a National Engineering Landmark with the unveiling of a plaque at Kuranda on 3 September 2005. T. Grant, "Engineering feat worth noting," *Cairns Post*, 13 August 2005, p. 4.

⁸³ M. Clow, *How I Spent a Fortnight at Kuranda*, (Brisbane, 1914), pp. 6 – 7.

bordered by the Pacific, the waterfalls of Stony Creek and the Barron, the gorgeous garden of Nature all unspoiled as yet by the hand of man, [sic] were voices proclaiming the infinite wisdom, skill and might of the Great Creator...⁸⁴

In 1936, the Department of Railways introduced the 'Grandstand Train,' which was designed to meet the special needs of tourists on this journey.⁸⁵ The new carriages were similar to the 'Sunshine Cars' on the Brisbane to Cairns route but the seating in each carriage was arranged in two tiers facing one side of the carriage which was fitted with large frameless glass windows. On the top tier, chairs were upholstered in leather and fitted with arm rests and arranged so that passengers looked over the shoulder and between the heads of those on the bottom tier. In addition, a public address system was installed and a Tourist Officer accompanied the train to point out places of interest.⁸⁶ Such was the popularity of this trip that another 'Grandstand' carriage was provided in 1938.⁸⁷

During World War II the 'Grandstand Carriages' were converted into ambulance cars and used in Queensland's ambulance trains.⁸⁸ After the War they were converted to conventional carriages and the journey was described by one commentator thus:

...a tiny train, typical of trains on the single-line tracks that cross the unguarded roads with a toot on the whistle everywhere in Queensland...the passengers sit on narrow seats in pairs, and it feels like a rattling, shaking, crashing cattle truck with a diesel engine and complete natural one hundred percent Australian friendliness all round...⁸⁹

⁸⁴ "Toowoomba to Cairns: two great districts," *Cairns Post*, 15 August 1930, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Report of the Commissioner for Railways for year ended 30 June 1936, in *V&P*, 1937, vol. 1, p.257.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ R. Ellis, *Rail to the Tableland*, p. 59.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁸⁹ J. Heal, *A Thousand and One*, p. 179.

Tourist Officers and commentaries were also not reintroduced, and in 1971 a report recommended that the Far North Queensland Tourist Association should approach the Railways Department to provide a special tourist train for the route with spacious viewing windows, a public address system and a competent commentator.⁹⁰

The trip through the Barron Gorge became one of the most popular rail journeys in the State. While figures for the Cairns to Kuranda rail journey were collected from the 1890s by the Railways Department, it is not known what proportion of these were tourists. Reliable figures did not become available until 1967 when 37,350 passengers travelled on the train, rising to 47,200 in 1970 and 105,316 in 1980.⁹¹ The popularity of the trip with tourists resulted in it being included in the 'Tropic Wonderland Tour' and 'Grand Tour' in the mid 1950s,⁹² the 'Tableland Circular Tour' in 1960,⁹³ and was part of three tours provided by Queensland Scenic Tours in 1973.⁹⁴ The introduction of organised tours such as these contributed to the rapidly increasing numbers of tourists travelling by train between 1970 and 1980. By 1991/92, 487,515 trips were taken on the Kuranda railway, an increase of 382,199 people in 12 years.⁹⁵ A study carried out in 1992 indicates that many of these tourists are taking this trip for many of the reasons that early tourists did: the scenery.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ ANTA, *Travel Industry Appraisal*, p. v-6.

⁹¹ See Table 4.3.1: unbound passenger movements Kuranda scenic rail trip, in W.S. Cummings Economic Research Services, *Cairns and Far North Queensland Tourism*, p. 77.

⁹² QGTB, *Tour No. Q 9: the Grand Tour*, (Brisbane, circa 1955), no page number.

⁹³ QGTB, *Day Tours Round and About Cairns*, no page number.

⁹⁴ See "Atherton Tablelands Tour 1," "Atherton Tablelands Tour 2," and "Kuranda and Barron Gorge Tour," Queensland Scenic Tours, *Queensland Scenic Tours*, 1973, no publishing details.

⁹⁵ See Table 4.3.1: unbound passenger movements Kuranda scenic rail trip, in W.S. Cummings Economic Research Services, *Cairns and Far North Queensland Tourism*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ G. Ross, *Tourist Reactions to the historic Cairns-Kuranda railway journey*, (Cairns, 1992), p. 43.

Local aviation

The development of early air services in the Cairns region is largely due to the efforts of Tom McDonald. He built the first hangar which was erected on stumps to prevent encroachment of sea water during high tides, and convinced the Cairns City Council to lay an ash strip for planes.⁹⁷ In 1934 he constructed a hangar capable of housing four small planes with their wings folded up. A fund to develop an aerodrome was launched in 1934 and in 1936 a site was purchased by the Cairns City Council. This led to the construction of a three runway aerodrome soon after.⁹⁸

In 1933 McDonald was offering flights over Cairns, Green Island, Barron Gorge and Falls by arrangement, for fares beginning at 10/-.⁹⁹ By 1936 McDonald Air Service was well established and was offering flights from Cairns to Townsville on Sundays and Thursdays for £3/10/- one way and £6/10/- return. The airline also offered flights to Cooktown on Mondays and Fridays at a cost of £3 one way and £5 return.¹⁰⁰ McDonald Airways was renamed North Queensland Airways in 1937 and was taken over by Airlines of Australia in 1938.¹⁰¹ This company in turn was taken over when Ansett and ANA merged during the 1950s.

The mid 1940s was significant in the development of air services for Cairns. By 1947, Trans Australian Airways (TAA) was providing daily flights from Cairns to Brisbane

⁹⁷ Cairns Post, *Cairns: 100 years of history, 1900 – 2000*, (Cairns, 1999), p. 14.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁰ "Excerpts from the 1936 editions of the Cairns Post," *Cairns Post*, 28 March 2002, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Cairns Historical Society, *Photographic Memories: glimpses of Cairns life over 125 years*, (Cairns, 2001), p. 40.

stopping at Townsville, Bowen, Mackay and Rockhampton.¹⁰² The introduction of this second airline into Cairns capitalised on the 'tourist boom' of 1947 when visitor numbers were beginning to exceed those seen before the war, and significantly for TAA, many more were beginning to travel by plane.¹⁰³ In addition, plans were afoot for Ansett Airlines and Pioneer Travel to set up tourist hotels on the Great Barrier Reef islands.¹⁰⁴ Such was the success of TAA's penetration of the domestic air travel market, it set up a flight centre in Cairns in 1955¹⁰⁵ and upgraded its planes on its feeder route to Townsville in 1959.¹⁰⁶ In 1951 Bush Pilots Airways airline was formed in Cairns.¹⁰⁷ From its humble beginnings the airline grew to operate a large number of scheduled services throughout Queensland. By the early 1980s Bush Pilots Airways was providing a weekly service to 83 cities, towns and communities from Bamaga in the north of the state, to Brisbane in the south, and Cunnamulla in western Queensland. Although it was really a 'milk run,' about this time the airline began to market its routes to tourists.¹⁰⁸ It also set up the Wilderness Lodge at the tip of Cape York.¹⁰⁹

Effectively, air and rail travel became the most comfortable and quickest ways to travel to the north. The differences between the two modes of travel were price and speed of travel. An Ansett -ANA or TAA first class return fare between Brisbane and Cairns in

¹⁰² Letter dated 18 November 1947 from the Manager of Australian Airways, Brisbane to the Secretary for the Office of the Commissioner of Transport. File No. A10, in A/73328, 1947 – 1959. QSA.

¹⁰³ *Cairns Post*, 16 May 1947, p. 5 & 14 July 1947, p. 1. TAA's first daily Skyliner flight landed in Cairns from Melbourne on 12 July 1947.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1947, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 14 October 1955.

¹⁰⁶ TAA replaced the DC3 with a turbo-prop Fokker Friendship. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1960, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ The first commercial flight by the fledgling airline was in a DH-90 Dragonfly on 23 June 1951. Tourist brochure titled *BPA Queensland's Airline: Air tour guide*, circa early 1980s.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ R. Entsch, *Bushies: a history of Bush Pilots, Air Queensland*, (Brisbane, 2001), pp. 174 – 175.

1964 was £24/14/-, while a first class return fare on the air-conditioned 'Sunlander' express train was £14/15/-.¹¹⁰ The rail trip between Brisbane and Cairns took two days¹¹¹ and by air, five to six hours after changing planes at Townsville.¹¹² In 1965 84,927 passenger movements were recorded at Cairns Airport, increasing to 98,030 in 1968.¹¹³ By the 1970s jet aircraft were carrying an increasing proportion of the passenger trade. Long-range wide-bodied jets made flying faster and more economical than anything before it. The region was unable to wholly capitalise on these improvements until the development of the Cairns International Airport in the 1980s.

In Far North Queensland the popularity of the reef islands was further enhanced in 1973 by holiday package deals offered by Ansett and TAA, in which Cairns was included. These eight day package holidays included return airfares, bed and breakfast accommodation at a Cairns motel, coach tours in the Cairns region, and a day trip to Green Island including admission to the Underwater Observatory and a glass bottom boat tour.¹¹⁴ Aviation also allowed a new type of tour to emerge. Seaplane charters to Green Island, Hinchinbrook Island, Bedarra, and Low Isles by way of Green Island and Michaelmas Cay were available daily.¹¹⁵ McDougalls Air Service offered an 'as wanted' flight to Dunk Island which linked in with a coach tour of the Atherton Tableland, and

¹¹⁰ "How to get there," *Walkabout*, September 1964, vol. 30, no. 9, p. 39. Shipping fares during the 1960s were not able to be ascertained.

¹¹¹ J. Davidson & P. Speeritt, *Holiday Business*, p. 290.

¹¹² See advertisement "McDonald Air Service Timetable," in "Excerpts from the 1936 editions of the Cairns Post," *Cairns Post*, 28 March 2002, p. 10.

¹¹³ Disaggregated statistics for passenger movements at Queensland airports were not available until 1965. Prior to this Australia-only figures were published. These figures for 1965 & 1968 were not broken down to categorise a traveller's reason for travel. "Table 26: Passenger Movements. Queensland Airports 1965 and 1968," in GBMPA, *Data Review*, p. 50.

¹¹⁴ *Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin*, circular no. 142, March 1973, p. 54.

¹¹⁵ Up to 10 flights a day went to Green Island with a daily service to the other islands. All flights had a capacity of 4 people at a cost of \$15 one way to Green Island and \$67 return for the other islands. 'Appendix VII,' in GBMPA, *Data Review*.

Bush Pilots Airway provided a daily service to Lizard Island. The North Queensland Aero Club provided reef flights as wanted for up to four people for \$100.¹¹⁶

In 1984 the international airport was opened in Cairns. This boosted tourism to the region even further and contributed significantly to the tourist boom of this decade. The significance of the airport to the regional economy was sharply highlighted by the Pilot's Strike lasting from August 1989 to March 1990 which had a dramatic effect on virtually all aspects of the regional economy.

Conclusion

Travel infrastructure was a significant factor in the development the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region. Substantial infrastructure such as the Cairns to Mareeba railway was established as early as 1891 to service the mining fields in the region's hinterland and to open up the Atherton Tableland for settlement, agriculture and pastoralism. This rail journey through the Barron Gorge and past the Barron Falls to Kuranda was one of Queensland's most popular tourist attractions.

Shipping services were vital to the development of the Cairns region generally and the development of its tourism cultural landscape in particular because until 1926, when the rail link between Brisbane and Cairns was completed, it was the only means of travelling to the Far North. Shipping companies quickly realised the value of the scenic voyage along the Queensland coast. Competition between companies meant that services

¹¹⁶ McDougalls Air Service flight to Dunk Island cost \$100 return and the plane had a capacity of 4 people. Bush Pilots Aviation daily flight was \$99 return. *Ibid.*

became more regular and passenger amenities were upgraded. Purpose built cruise ships were introduced in the late 1920s and early 1930s and they plied the Melbourne to Cairns route during the winter months, war years aside, until the early 1960s. By then the 'golden era of cruising' was over, displaced by increased car ownership and the emergence of new patterns of leisure.

The demise of regular cruise ship services led to a new ways of using the waterways. Small boats became more important in tourist activity. During the 1970s the Cairns region became noted for its big game fishing. Small boats began to take tours to the Reef and along local waterways. By the 1990s, Cairns was seen as a centre for water activity, due to the proliferation of companies offering cruises, boats for charter, organised cruises to the reef, and big game fishing.

Most domestic tourists reached the North by train after the rail link to Brisbane was completed in 1926. The close relationship between the Railways Department and the Government's tourism promotion bodies led to greater consideration of tourists' needs, with special services such as the Daylight Tours and Grandstand Cars introduced. The trains became increasingly comfortable but the postwar boom in car ownership, and coach and air travel left the railways behind.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Development of Tourism Promotion Bodies

Introduction

The promotion and organisation of tourism in Australia and the Cairns region occurred at three levels: Commonwealth and State Governments; and non-government local initiatives. At the Commonwealth level the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA) was formed in the late 1920s to promote Australia both nationally and internationally. Generally speaking ANTA was poorly funded by the Commonwealth government until the early 1960s. Despite this, its publication *Walkabout* magazine was immensely successful in highlighting the diverse nature of the country and advertising its attractions both here and overseas. At the State Government level information about immigrants, settlers and tourists was collected from 1907 by the Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau (QGIB), although their emphasis was on attracting settlers and immigrants rather than tourists.¹ However in 1929 the QGIB was renamed the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB) and came under the control of the Department of Railways. It became very influential in developing tourism infrastructure such as caravan parks and tourist roads, formulating itineraries suited to tourists, and collecting and disseminating images. The Bureau along with shipping companies monopolised the organisation of the industry until the 1960s, particularly in terms of itineraries and length of time spent in the region, a situation fought against by promotion bodies in the Cairns region from at least the 1930s.

¹ The Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau was established on 1 April 1907. The first Director was John Malcolm Campbell and the artist/photographer was Harry William Mobsby. Other staff included clerks, a typist, draftsman, taxidermist and assistants. 'Ministerial Departments and sub-departments: officers employed on the 31 December 1907,' in *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 1, 1908, p. 592.

National Initiatives

Commonwealth involvement in the tourism industry came about in 1929 when the Australian National Travel Association was established. This was initiated by T.E. Moorhouse from the Development and Migration Commission and Charles Holmes, chairman of the Betterment and Publicity Board of the Victorian Railways, who believed that a body was required to co-ordinate the activities and interests of the railway departments, shipping companies, motoring organisations, hoteliers and various state bureaux involved in tourism.² From the outset the ANTA set about promoting Australia, both nationally and internationally. In 1929 it opened offices in London and San Francisco, followed by one in Wellington in 1934 and another in Bombay in 1938.³ Journalists and poster artists such as Percy Trompf and James Northfield were commissioned for promotional material. By 1936 nearly three thousand permanent poster sites had been secured in overseas countries for the exhibition of colourful Australian posters.⁴ Perhaps one of the Association's most successful early initiatives was the establishment of *Walkabout* magazine in November 1934 which aimed to "... enable Australians and the people of other lands to learn more of the vast Australian continent and the colourful islands below the equator in the Pacific..."⁵ By the late 1930s *Walkabout* was reaching an estimated readership of 104,000, which comprised many of the business and professional class, that is, those who could afford to travel.

² J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 76 – 77.

³ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 122. The office in San Francisco was the first tourism promotion office of any nation on the west coast of America. The office in Bombay was the first on the Asian continent. *Ibid.*

⁴ "Advertising Australia: Australian National Travel Association's Big Task," *Walkabout*, August 1936, vol. 2, no. 10, p. 48.

⁵ *Walkabout* Magazine was published from 1934 until 1974. J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 80 & 96.

Postwar there seemed to be little government interest and ANTA seemed to fall into a state of disarray at this point due to lack of funding and it was not until 1954 that the Commonwealth government provided it with £20,000 to promote Australia overseas.⁶ In 1959 a ministerial conference on tourism was held which acknowledged the need for co-operation between the State and Federal governments and the need to develop public consciousness of the economic and social benefits of tourism. The Commonwealth's role in the industry was expanded to include the provision of statistical material as a guide to the economic effects of the tourist industry and the efficacy of promotional activity; and the encouragement of capital investment in tourism infrastructure through tax concessions.⁷ However it was not really until a balance of payments crisis in 1961 that the Commonwealth government began to take tourism seriously and funding was increased.⁸

The Australian Travel Association had since the 1950s been lobbying the government for the formation of a statutory authority with an independent board to co-ordinate "...the planning and development of the Travel and Tourist industry of Australia and the promotion of travel from overseas..."⁹ This resulted in the formation of the Australian Tourism Commission (ATC) in 1967.¹⁰ The ATC took over existing overseas ANTA

⁶ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Tourism*, p. 276.

⁷ Minutes of the State Minister's Conference on Tourism, Sydney, October 1959, in A/71789 – A/71799, 1959 – 1967. QSA.

⁸ In 1965 – 66 ANTA had a budget of \$1,021,425. The Commonwealth contributed \$734,748, State Governments \$36,400, and 421 members and contributors \$247,277. J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Tourism*, p. 287.

⁹ Harris, Kerr, Forster & Co. and Stanton Robbins & Co., *Australia's Travel and Tourist Industry 1965*, cited by *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁰ ANTA executives took up key roles in the ATC. The first chairman was John Bates, chief executive of P&O Australia, the deputy chairman was Alan Greenway, founder of Travelodge, and the general manager was Basil Atkinson. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

offices and during the 1960s and 1970s sought to create awareness of Australia with both the travel trade and the public internationally.¹¹

The role of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau

At the local level the marketing and advertising of beauty spots in Queensland was initially handled by the Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau (QGIB). The QGIB was established in 1907 under the auspices of the Chief Secretary's Department to gather and disseminate information for prospective immigrants, settlers and tourists. The coupling of these seemingly diverse activities was due to the blurring between economic, settlement and tourism activities. Although the QGIB did identify and promote tourist attractions, the government's focus was on attracting immigrants and 'peopling the land.' This was reflected in the level of funding the Bureau received to promote tourism. In 1912 – 1913 Queensland spent approximately £6,000 while New South Wales spent around £11,000.¹² It was not until after World War I that most State Governments began to view tourism as potentially lucrative, and State Bureaux were established, with the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau being created in 1929.

The Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB) was transferred to the Railways Department in 1929¹³ and the activities of the Bureau with regard to organising facilities for tourists came under increasing scrutiny. The Commissioner for Railways, J.W. Davidson, very quickly changed the Bureau's focus and established booking agencies

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 290 – 291.

¹² J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 74.

¹³ "Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Railways (Mr. W.A. Hooper) 1938, and Comments of the Commissioner for Railways (Mr. C.A. Murton) thereon," *V&P*, for the year ended 30 June 1939, p. 1148.

because he considered that "... a Tourist Bureau should not only advertise tourist attractions but assist tourists in reaching them..."¹⁴ In Cairns a travel booking office was opened in 1931.¹⁵ The QGTB became very influential. It organised sightseeing and package tours and sold tours for commercial operators. It took an active role in the development of tourism infrastructure by providing funding to local governments or matching funds for the development of caravan parks and tourist roads.¹⁶

The incoming Commissioner for Railways for 1931 sought to redress the perception that the Bureau was doing little to advertise Queensland in the southern states. This resulted in the launching of a 'carefully planned campaign' to advertise Queensland's 'beautiful winter climate and scenic beauty' throughout the southern states and New Zealand.¹⁷ Media used in the campaign included poster displays in railway stations, hoardings to advertise destinations, journals, motion pictures in country districts, advertising slides in theatres, and photographs and window displays in prominent businesses. In addition, the Bureau distributed literature about Queensland to schools and teachers in an effort to induce school parties to visit the state.¹⁸ The QGTB mounted a number of innovative displays from the 1930s. In 1937 large scale models of the Barron Gorge and the Great

¹⁴ "Queensland Government Tourist Bureau: effort to encourage tourists to Queensland to see our beauty spots," *C&C*, vol. 4, no. 45, January 1931, p. 25.

¹⁵ The QGTB booking office located at Craig's Pharmacy. "Cairns Visit: railway commissioner," *Cairns Post*, 17 November 1930, p. 4.

¹⁶ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 278.

¹⁷ "The Queensland Government Tourist Bureau," *C&C*, vol. 5, no. 49, May 1931, p. 79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* From the 1930s school children travelled to Cairns on Young Australia League (YAL) tours. Up to 600 children at a time travelled to Cairns via train to spend a week in the region. They visited Green Island, Kuranda, Ellis Beach, the Hambleton or Mulgrave sugar mill, and the swimming pool. They were accommodated in various places including the army huts on the foreshore between the Hilton Hotel and the Pier after World War II. The popularity of YAL tours diminished after the 1988 Brisbane Expo when many schools began to organise their own trips. The YAL was founded in Perth in 1905 as a football touring party, with a motto of 'Education by Travel.' A. Hudson, "Holiday Learning," *Cairns Post*, 26 November 2004, p. 24.

Barrier Reef were mounted at the Bureau's pavilion in Brisbane for the National Show. The model of the Gorge contained miniature trains travelling along a railway in a "...realistic setting of tunnels, bridges, and cuttings, with the tumbling waters of the Barron, Stony Creek and other waterfalls, backed with scrub clad mountain sides..."¹⁹ The model for the Reef took the form of a coral pool "...depicting the charms of the Barrier Reef..."²⁰ and a model of Whitsunday Passage, with its islands, surrounded by the placid waters of the passage. In 1947 a scene from Michaelmas Cay was displayed in the Whitney Hall Exhibition of the American Museum of Natural History. The vegetation, coral sand and birds preserved by a taxidermist were used to construct the exhibit.²¹ In 1960 Dunk Island was featured in a window display at the Brisbane offices of the QGTB. This was considered to be an 'authentic' portrayal of the island with a memo commenting that the display had received secured 'good press and television coverage' due to its "...original effect... [this] being secured by the use of coconut palms..."²²

The Queensland Government Tourist Bureau enjoyed a monopoly in the organisation of the industry until the 1960s but as patronage of the State's railways fell away due to the marked increase in car ownership and competition from privately owned booking agencies and motoring organisations, its influence was considerably diluted.²³ Nationwide, State Bureaux were corporatised and in 1978 business executives were

¹⁹ 'Tramp,' "Queensland's National Show: its northern aspect," *C & C*, September 1937, vol. 5, no. 126, p. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ These materials were collected by the Fahnestock Expedition in the early 1940s. "Current Nature Topics: Great Barrier Reef exhibit," *Cairns Post*, 31 January 1947.

²² Memo 31.54, dated 15 September 1960 to the Under Secretary of the Department of Labour and Industry, in A/19194: Labour and Industry General Correspondence Files. QSA.

²³ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, pp. 92 – 93.

bought in to run the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. It was renamed The Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation (QTTC), and chaired by Frank Moore.²⁴ Moore's focus was on developing Queensland as an international destination by developing warm water resorts, a system of international gateways, and a marketing system that provided appropriate quality products for selected markets.²⁵ This had direct benefits for the Cairns region with construction of the Sheraton Mirage Resort at Port Douglas in 1987 and the opening of Cairns International Airport in 1984.²⁶ The QTTC negotiated directly with potential developers using 'controversial methods' on occasion. In addition, Parliament gave it jurisdiction over certain Crown lands, which it was able to sell or contribute to joint ventures with developers. The Sheraton Mirage Resort was one such example whereby the QTTC's "...contribution to the project of Crown land was paid for by \$10 million in shares and these were later sold for \$13.5 million..."²⁷

Locally based promotion initiatives prior to World War II

The development of tourism marketing bodies in the Cairns region was a piecemeal process. Tourism specific organisations did not develop in the region until the late 1920s. From the 1920s to 1970 a number of locally based tourist promotion organisations emerged. By 1971 there were 15 working to promote tourism in Far North Queensland.²⁸ Most were ephemeral, being hampered by lack of funds. After 1930 many published their own tourist guides. Individual attractions such as Lake Eacham Hotel also published guide books about their local beauty spots, in this case Yungaburra, the Crater Lakes and

²⁴ J. Richardson, *The History of Australian Travel*, pp. 278 – 280.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 283 – 285.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²⁸ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report 1970/71*, p. 5.

the Southern Tableland area.²⁹ Occasionally accommodation providers such as the Strand Hotel, Cairns, advertised its services in magazines.³⁰ Shipping companies such as Burns Philp also actively promoted the region through the production of guide books.³¹ Promotion bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Cairns City Council and the Cairns Harbour Board, like the tourism specific bodies, were hampered by lack of funds and the monopoly of the QGTB on the organisation of the industry.

The earliest tourism promotion body in Cairns appears to be The North Queensland Advertising Association. This Association arranged for the inclusion of a supplement, the 'North Queensland Illustrated Inset,' to be included in the *Australasian* in May 1907.³² This was followed by the dispatch of 40,000 copies to England for distribution and the sale of 20,000 copies to the Queensland government.³³ It is not known how long the Association was in existence but by 1924 the Northern Publicity League had come into being.³⁴ The League was initiated by towns in the region that wanted to promote the scenic attractions of their area in conjunction with Cairns. By 1924 these regional areas

²⁹ *A Cordial Welcome to Sunny North Queensland from William's Lake Eacham Hotel, Yungaburra, North Queensland*, 1928.

³⁰ "Come to Cairns for an inexpensive holiday," *C & C*, vol. 5, no. 55, November 1931, p. 66.

³¹ Burns Philp's publications included *Picturesque Travel under the auspices of Burns, Philp & Company Limited*, No. 3, 1913, & *Picturesque Travel under the auspices of Burns, Philp & Company Limited*, No. 5, 1920.

³² This initiative was funded by the Association along with donations and advertisements from private firms. The supplement was largely focused on attracting capital and 'desirable immigrants' as it emphasised statistics relating to rainfall, temperature, production and exports. "Advertising North Queensland," *Cairns Morning Post*, 22 April 1907, p. 2. I gratefully acknowledge Terry Fisk, Cairns Historical Society, for drawing my attention to this source.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ "Northern Publicity League: publicity scheme to be compiled," *Atherton News & Barron Valley Advocate*, 23 January 1924. Members included J.G. Hoare, Mayor of Cairns and Chairman, S.H. Warner, D.W. Olley, G.A. Campbell, H.J. James, D.W. Cross and A. Wilson, secretary. I gratefully acknowledge Marjorie Gilmore for this reference.

were no longer financially contributing to the League nor attending meetings, and most members were expressing disquietude with this state of affairs.

The Cairns and Tableland Progress Association (CTPA) formed in 1928³⁵ was a locally based organisation aware of local needs and the potential of the region. It was hampered by lack of funding and lack of response to lobbying for better infrastructure and services such as roads and jetties. Despite this the CTPA was active in promoting the region and its attractions. In 1930 it distributed 3,000 tour guide books and 3,000 folders to passengers arriving in Cairns, to the southern states, and overseas.³⁶ By 1932 the Association was seeking to publicise the region more widely through lending its support to the Cairns Show Society to transport an exhibit on the region to the Brisbane Royal National Show.³⁷ Efforts were being made to form co-operative community networks, with the Country Women's Association being encouraged to raise funds for the Association, asking car hire proprietors to buy advertising space in the Association's publicity guides, and proposing the establishment of a branch of the CTPA on the Tableland so that needs there could be better met.³⁸ From the outset this organisation wrestled with the stranglehold of the QGTB and shipping companies over itineraries and the length of time travellers spent in the region. Upon arrival in Cairns tourists were met by QGTB officers and transported by train from the wharf, their "...tours mapped out for

³⁵ CTPA, *Informative Tourists' Guide Book for Cairns and Tableland*, (Cairns, 1931), p. 3.

³⁶ "Cairns and the North," *Cairns Post*, 3 November 1930, p. 4. The guide books and folders were produced at a cost of £111/10/- and £10 respectively. Information for the books and folders was obtained by the organisation's secretary who travelled to the Tableland and north to Mossman.

³⁷ "Far Northern Publicity," *Ibid.*, 10 February 1932, p. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

them in the South...³⁹ In 1931 the QGTB began issuing a pamphlet titled *While the Boat Waits* to all ship passengers. This provided details of eight different tours of the Atherton Tableland and day and half-day tours of Cairns.⁴⁰ These tours invariably missed the much extolled Green Island and Crystal Cascades as they could not be viewed from a railway carriage.⁴¹

Discontent over the tourism itinerary was an ongoing problem. Areas such as Tully were lobbying the Cairns Chamber of Commerce for the tourism itinerary to be more inclusive of southern areas.⁴² This proposal needed to be put to the Railways Department for approval. The Cairns and District Publicity Association (CDPA) was formed in 1931.⁴³ This organisation wanted to foster "...proper co-operation with the Government Tourist Bureau and the formulation of plans for a more extensive tourist programme..."⁴⁴ and to counter the perception of the CTPA as a parochial body.

By 1934 another association was in existence looking to the needs of the tourism industry: the Cairns and District Tourist and Development Association (CDTDA). This appeared to be a more formally constituted association with a dedicated Advertising Committee. It had 1,000 circulars printed for distribution on the eastern seaboard and in

³⁹ "Publicising Cairns," *Ibid.*, 1 November 1930, p. 4. Members of this committee included N.P. Draper (chairman), E.J. Lyon, G.R. Trahen, F. Ferguson, D.W. Olley, V. Kennedy, J.M. Johnston, J. Wyer and T.R. Hall (secretary).

⁴⁰ CTPA, *Informative Tourists' Guide*, p. 49.

⁴¹ It is interesting to note that in the 1990s the length of time international tourists spent in the Cairns region was still impacting on tourism development. In 1991 visitor nights in Cairns were 8.4, dropping to 6.1 nights in 1996 which impacted negatively on coach tour numbers to the Atherton Tableland. D. Getz, "Resort centred tours," p. 26.

⁴² "Chamber of Commerce Monthly Meeting: business and industry," *Ibid.*, 25 October 1930, p. 4.

⁴³ "Excerpts from the 1931 editions of the Cairns Post," *Ibid.*, 22 March 2002, p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

New Zealand, organised 2,000 postcards of the Gillies and Cook Highways to be printed at a cost of £4/12/6, and contacted broadcasting stations in Melbourne and Sydney and the *Sydney Morning Herald* for advertising rates.⁴⁵ In an effort to counter the monopoly of the QGTB over passenger movements and itineraries the Association resolved to advertise for “...three guides with a thorough knowledge of the District...” to meet ship passengers and attend to those not catered for by the QGTB.⁴⁶ This Association differed from the others in that in addition to looking after the interests of the tourism industry it was charged with promoting the interests of another industry, the sugar industry. Tension between the Association’s dual interests grew as the Sugar Industry felt that it was not receiving adequate publicity from the funds it contributed, a situation which the Association addressed by ensuring that the tourist guides meeting the ships encouraged passengers to book a tour to the sugar mills.⁴⁷ Perhaps because of these tensions the Cairns and District Tourist and Development Association ceased to function in March 1935.⁴⁸

The transformation of the tourism cultural landscape after World War II: locally based promotion initiatives

After World War II a series of local organisations were formed to address the perennial problem of publicising the region. (see Figure 4.1) New issues came to the fore particularly those of attracting visitors to the region during the ‘off season’ and lack of accommodation. The establishment of government and industry organisations after

⁴⁵ “Minutes of the Advertising Committee,” 6 June 1934 & 26 June 1934, in General Minute Book of the Cairns and District Tourist and Development Association, held at the Cairns Historical Society.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1934.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ “Minutes of Special Meeting, 11 March 1935,” in *Ibid.*

World War II increased momentum and provided focus for the fledgling industry. It was not however until the 1970s that the Queensland government realised the potential of tourism for the State. It was at this point that accommodation issues were addressed in earnest, infrastructure particularly for reef tourism was upgraded or constructed, and promotion of the region became focused, organised and productive.

After World War Two development of tourism infrastructure became a priority. The region quickly bounced back from the war's detrimental effect on domestic travel and by 1946 tourist numbers to the region were at pre-war levels.⁴⁹ The Queensland Tourist Development Board (QTDB) visited the region in 1946. The Board's charter was to ascertain and report upon Queensland's tourist resources and the resources required for their development.⁵⁰ It conducted a survey of facilities in Cairns and canvassed the views of interested parties and the public.⁵¹ The Board visited again in 1947 and provided a comprehensive report on the region's infrastructure and addressed many of the concerns raised by the CTPA, the CDPA and the CDTDA prior to the War. It recommended that Fitzroy Island should be developed as a tourist resort; the Mareeba aerodrome should be considered as another entry point to the region; accommodation houses in Cairns needed to be upgraded; the Tableland's tobacco industry should

⁴⁹ *Cairns Post*, 21 June 1946, p. 5.

⁵⁰ GBMPA, *Data Review*, p. 10.

⁵¹ *Cairns Post*, 2 October 1946 & 3 October 1946.

Figure 4.1: Local and State Government organisations involved in promoting the Cairns region after World War II

Organisation	Year of establishment	Aim of organisation	Reason for demise of organisation
Far North Queensland Tourist & Development Association	1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - delegates from Councils & Chambers of Commerce from Innisfail to Cooktown & west to Georgetown - sponsored by the Cairns City Council - publicise and promote region - Improve accommodation 	- not known
Cairns & District Tourist Association	1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -publicise and promote region especially in 'off season' - gain control of image of the region 	- lack of interest by Tableland local governments and attraction owners
Cairns & District Travel League	1963	- publicise & promote region	- not known
Board for Tourism & Travel	1971	- promote region in southern states	- amalgamated with the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau in 1975
Far North Queensland Development Bureau (incorporated in 1975)	1972	- expand & promote the travel industry	- amalgamated with the Far North Queensland

			Promotion Bureau in 1975
Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation (QTCC)	1978	- promote travel within and to Queensland	- replaced QGTB following its restructure
Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau (FNQPB)	1978	- increase overseas tourists - lobby for an international airport	- renamed Tourism Tropical North Queensland in 1997
Tourism Tropical North Queensland	1997	- create sustainable visitor growth -destination marketing - convention marketing	

Sources: *Cairns Post*, 22 January 1955, p. 5, 15 March 1961, p. 5; Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for 1963 – 64*, p.2; and *Annual Report for 1972 – 73*, p. 2; Cairns Harbour Board, *56th Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1962*, p. 6; Cairns Post, *Growing With Cairns*, 1997, p. 107; and J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 284.

be developed as a tourist attraction; Cairns streets should be beautified including tree planting and landscaped gardens; the QGTB office should stay open until 7 pm for the convenience of travellers; hotels and other accommodation should be developed on the Barrier Reef islands; entertaining night life should be provided in Cairns to accommodate European travellers; game fishing should be developed as a tourist attraction; misleading advertising in southern states, particularly regarding tours to the reef, should be rectified; consideration should be given to the tourism possibilities of Tully and Cooktown; and a review of travellers' itineraries should be done, as prior to the war they benefited nobody except the shipping companies.⁵² The Board's activities in the region provoked adverse comment in the local paper ranging from criticism of the Board itself due to the slowness with which recommendations were being addressed,⁵³ to issues over which it had little influence, such as the lack of camping areas for tourists⁵⁴ There was however some local response by accommodation providers to the call to upgrade, with the Hides Hotel being renovated in 1946⁵⁵ indicating that the end was in view for the rather primitive facilities provided by the industry prior to the war.

By the 1950s little had been done to address publicity specifically targeting the region or upgrading tourism accommodation, graphically described by one commentator "...in many cases the bedclothes are musty and shoddy; insufficient during cool weather. Some of the furniture was new when Queen Victoria was old..."⁵⁶

⁵² *Ibid.*, 9 September 1947, p. 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 22 June 1947, p. 5

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 July 1947, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1946, p. 5.

⁵⁶ A.C.C. Lock, *People We Met*, (Sydney, 1951), p. 300.

Despite the shortcomings, visitors continued to come in ever increasing numbers during this decade. Upgrading of accommodation was a nation wide problem in the post-war period due to scarcity of building materials and the cost of transporting them. As a result many of the local guest houses were accommodating locals awaiting the construction of housing.⁵⁷ Despite these entrenched problems the area continued to attract increasing numbers of visitors with the 1954 season being described as the "...biggest season yet..."⁵⁸ Tourism in the post-war era appeared to develop a momentum of its own and the Cairns region struggled to keep up with the changes during this decade. The response included the rebuilding of the Imperial Hotel, the third tourist hotel to be built in Queensland since the war;⁵⁹ the extension to December of the popular 'Tropic Wonderland Tour,'⁶⁰ and the opening of the TAA Flight Centre in the Collins Building.⁶¹ The Underwater Observatory was established on Green Island in 1954 representing the first significant expenditure by private attraction owners and significantly one that was not directly associated with the railway, in that it was not adjacent to nor owned by the Department of Railways such as 'Fairylund Tea Gardens' near Kuranda.⁶² Attractions such as the 'Maze' and others in Kuranda owed their existence primarily to the Cairns to Kuranda railway particularly prior to World War II after which the Kuranda Range Road was constructed as part of the war effort. The 'Jungle' at Malanda was dependent upon

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1946, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for the year 1954*, p. 13.

⁵⁹ This hotel was rebuilt at a cost of £80,000. *Cairns Post*, 22 May 1951, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Bookings for this tour through the QGTB for 1950 were 1,702; in 1951, 1,730; 1952 1,668; and 1953, 1,862. Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for the year 1954*, p. 13.

⁶¹ *Cairns Post*, 14 October 1955.

⁶² 'Fairylund Tea Gardens' was purchased by the Department of Railways in 1934 and was retained until at least the 1960s. See Memo dated 30 July 1934 advising the purchase of 'Fairylund' for £800 from Mrs. Dick. A/13019: Fairylund Tourist Resort Lease. Department of Railways File. QSA.

the railway to a lesser extent due to the services provided by car hire firm 'Whitecars' and the construction of the Gillies Highway in 1926.

The 1960s was a challenging period for the Cairns region. Tourists continued to arrive in ever increasing numbers and the region was now catering for a more diverse range of travellers as the city was hosting conferences, and school parties and private motorists were travelling north following the improvements to the Bruce Highway.⁶³ This diversity was partly due to the advertising efforts of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau. Alternative ways of travelling to the region were in place very quickly with a Brisbane to Cairns bus service introduced for the 1961 tourist season⁶⁴ as well as the 'Daylight Tours' on the Sunlander noted earlier. The ever increasing popularity of the private car and ultimately air travel allayed many of the fears associated with the decline in shipping services. Despite an increase in the number, quality and variety of accommodation during the late 1950s and 1960s supply was unable to keep up with tourist demand. This shortfall was particularly pertinent for the motoring travellers' requirements for camping grounds and motels.⁶⁵ Reports of Cairns' accommodation capability vary with the RACQ in 1963 reporting that Cairns had 8 establishments, with a total of 113 rooms, while Davidson and Spearitt report that in 1964, 37 accommodation establishments were providing 701 rooms, of which 488 did not have private bathroom facilities.⁶⁶ The Great

⁶³ "All-time Record of Tourists to Cairns and District," *Cairns Post*, 8 October 1960, p. 7 & "Record Year for Tourists in Cairns District," 30 July 1960, p. 5. Twenty special tours by school parties and other organisations from South Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and New Zealand were organised for 1960 by the OGTB.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report, 1963–64*, p. 2.

⁶⁶ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *History, Cairns*, p. 244.

Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority's Report of 1967/68 revised the number of establishments down to 23 with 431 rooms, rising to 1,152 rooms in its report of 1980.⁶⁷

Control of publicity and the region's image became an issue during the 1960s for local tourism interests with the Cairns and District Tourist Association insisting that a visiting film company, Queensland Television Feature Films, Southport, should include Green Island, the Cook Highway and the Crater Lakes.⁶⁸ The Association appears to have been successful in terms of subsequent films depicting Green Island and the Great Barrier Reef: In 1962 the Ford Company with the support of the Cairns Harbour Board produced a movie "Frontier of the Future" which featured aspects of the region including Green Island and the bird life at Michaelmas Cay.⁶⁹ Also during 1962 the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau filmed the Tourist Carnival and opening of the new jetty at Green Island which was shown in the Bureau's News Digest.⁷⁰ In 1963 Cairns and Green Island featured in two QGTB films, 'The Sunshine State' and 'Isles of the Sun'.⁷¹ They were less successful in having other attractions of the region such as the Atherton Tableland depicted in films, and errors in printed tourism literature became more important for local interests trying to attract visitors to the region: Shell in its brochure on the Barrier Reef Islands failed to mention any islands north of Mackay and described the Cairns region's roads as impassable from October due to the wet season.⁷²

⁶⁷ See "Appendix 3, Accommodation Plant in Barrier Reef Region," in GBMPA, *Data Review*, p. 79.

⁶⁸ "Cairns District Tourist Scenes," *Cairns Post*, 17 August 1960. This Association represented diverse interests including the Cairns Harbour Board, the Mareeba Shire Council, the Eacham Shire Council and the Mulgrave Shire Council.

⁶⁹ Cairns Harbour Board, 56th *Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1962*, p. 6.

⁷⁰ See letter dated 29 July 1963 from the Premiers Department, Brisbane, to Mr. C. Williams, Town Clerk, Cairns City Council, in File no. 4008/63 Cairns City Council. A/19397. QSA.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² "Tourist Book Published," *Cairns Post*, 14 March 1962.

Publicity continued to be problematic during the 1960s and the beleaguered Cairns and District Tourist Association struggled to promote the region in the face of apathy in publicising the region's attractions by the Atherton Tableland local governments, and owners of tourist attractions.⁷³ Only the Eacham Shire Council on the Atherton Tableland took the initiative in publicising the attractions of the Shire when in 1959 it expended £800.00 on a tourist brochure.⁷⁴ Despite these problems the QGTB continued to produce tourism literature such as *Cairns and Beyond: the story of North Queensland's Wonderland* which was distributed largely by the Cairns and District Tourist Association.⁷⁵ Parts of the Atherton Tableland began to chart their own course in terms of promoting their interests around this time. In keeping with the interests of the 'Peopling the North' strategy, which promoted agricultural development to increase the northern population and stem the flow of population to cities, the Atherton Tableland Co-operative Dairying Association (ATCDA) recognised that growth and development of the southern Tableland area had changed in focus from agricultural to tourism.⁷⁶ The Association responded with a comprehensive marketing strategy promoting their milk products to island resorts, hotels, motels and restaurants. (see Figure 4.2) The Association

⁷³ "Fund Proposed by Association," *Ibid.*, 15 March 1961, p. 5.

⁷⁴ "Far Northern Highlights of 1959," *Ibid.*, 2 January 1960, p. 4.

⁷⁵ Five thousand copies of this book were printed by the *Cairns Post*. Three thousand were bought by the Association at £1 each with the remainder being distributed through newsagents and other vendors. *Ibid.*, "Tourist Book Published," 14 March 1962.

⁷⁶ A. Statham, *Cows in the Vine Scrub*, p. 299.

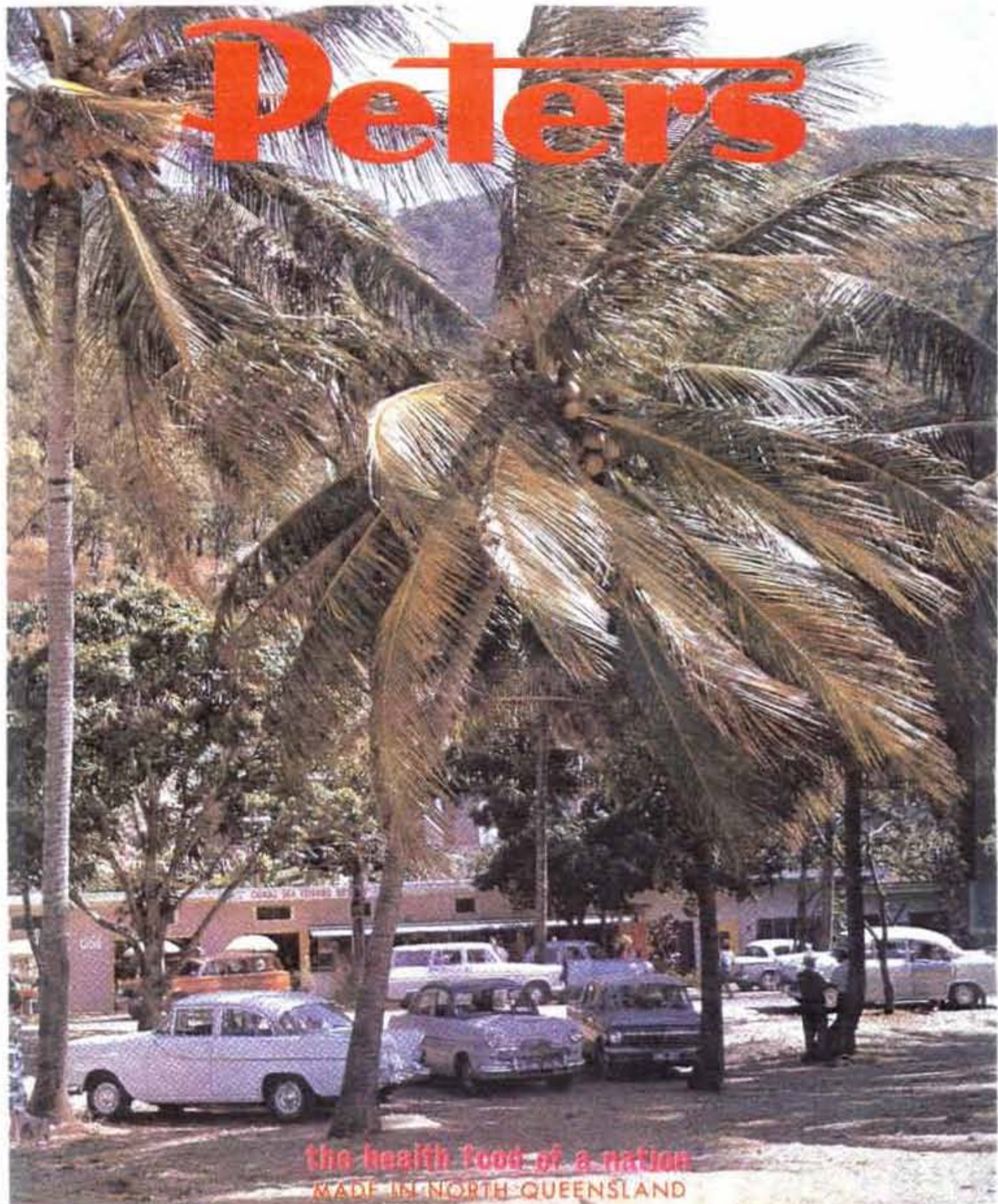


Figure 4.2: Peters – the health food of a nation, made in North Queensland. (*The North Queensland Annual*, 1966)

also formed relationships with North Queensland TAFE colleges and the Queensland Tourism and Hospitality Training Council by sponsoring awards. The ATCDA also joined forces with tourism interests such as 'Wild World,' a tropical zoo in Cairns in 1985, in a campaign for 'crocodile milk.'⁷⁷

Cairns continued to struggle with providing a varied tourism experience during the 1960s. In 1966 the Federation of Chambers of Commerce sponsored the Northern Development Symposium. Professor R. H. Greenwood presented a critique of the tropical coast's tourism development efforts, identified deficiencies in tourism infrastructure and threw up new challenges for the local industry:

...with winter warmth, magnificent scenery and the unique Barrier Reef, the region has the raw materials for a major enterprise [tourism] which is emerging with greater sophistication... [the industry needs] to do more to slow down the visitor's passage, and extract more money from him beyond the basic inducements of launch trips, conventions and trips to the Tableland... three things are needed – several places of scenic or sporting interest; attractive indigenous cuisine; and interesting things to buy. This means more roads to look-outs, jungle and waterfalls, the preservation of areas of natural beauty, better facilities for river fishing, bush walking and the like. It means local specialties in food and its presentation. And it means local enterprise in producing goods of interest and quality...⁷⁸

Arguably, the region's difficulty in providing a varied tourism experience during the 1960s was related to the control exercised by the QGTB over its promotional activities and image. Images of the region such as the Barron Falls, waterfalls, the Chillagoe Caves and strangler fig trees had been largely furnished by local photographers such as Alphonse Chargois, Charles Handley, Alfred Atkinson and others in the late 19th and

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 304 – 305.

⁷⁸ R.H. Greenwood, "The Promotion of Diversified Development on the tropical Queensland Coast," *Northern Development Symposium, sponsored by the Federation of Chambers of Commerce*, (Ingham, 1966), no page numbers.

early 20th centuries.⁷⁹ These were published frequently in government sponsored publications and varied little over the years. This 'way of seeing' the Cairns region was established early and the problems experienced by local promotion bodies in providing a variety of experiences indicate that the QGTB was exercising a large measure of control over visual depictions of Far North Queensland.

It was not until 1971 that the Commonwealth and State governments began to address some of the concerns raised in reports such as Greenwood's. A comprehensive report commissioned by the Australian National Travel Association identified tourism as the second most important industry in Cairns but found that a seasonal bias emphasising the region's winter climate persisted. Further, the area's isolation was deterring the short term visitor.⁸⁰ A wide range of recommendations were included in the report: consider activities other than those to do with climate; develop summer sporting activities such as game fishing to attract off-season travellers; package tour operators should be approached to extend the stay of overseas visitors; city guide maps and interpretative materials should be introduced; the coastal strip between Port Douglas and Ellis Beach should be made a National Park; Aboriginal operated art and craft shops and cultural centers should be established; tourist attractions worthy of conservation should be identified, particularly Port Douglas; landscaping and beautification of the waterfront area should be carried out and hillside subdivision restricted; a harbour reclamation scheme was required; and a pedestrian mall, convention centre and tourist shopping centre should be established. On the Atherton Tableland the Report recommended that

⁷⁹ See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the region's photographers.

⁸⁰ ANTA, *Travel Industry Appraisal*, p. i-1.

the community become involved in the preservation of rainforest, tree planting programmes, the upgrading of interpretation for such attractions and road signage; better restaurants and refreshment facilities; upgrading the road to Chillagoe; lighting the Chillagoe Cave's; and extending camping facilities in National Parks.⁸¹

Many of these recommendations were taken up by local and state tourism interests during the 1970s when the Queensland government was finally realised the potential of tourism for the state. In 1972 tourism was the fourth largest industry in Queensland and the largest industry by 1980.⁸² Investment in accommodation was encouraged and in 1972 construction of high-rise accommodation began with the Lyons Motor Inn,⁸³ the Adobe Motel, a 14 unit motel on Sheridan Street, and another block of 21 holiday flats in the same street. By 1973 Cairns had the beginnings of its 'motel strip' on the main thoroughfare, Sheridan Street. (see Figure 4.3) Approval for a caravan park was given for the corner of Pease and Calder Streets and for the erection of 14 units to be added to three existing city motels.⁸⁴ In response to increasing visitor numbers some existing accommodation owners began to extend their motels.⁸⁵ In 1974 the Board for Tourism and Travel in Cairns estimated that the city and its environs had holiday accommodation for 5,270 people.⁸⁶ By 1976 there were an estimated 450,000 holiday makers in Cairns each year staying in the city's 22 caravan parks, 35 motels and new resorts, the

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. i-2 – i-15.

⁸² *Queensland Sunshine News Bulletin* (QSNB) circular no. 133, June 1972, p. 1.

⁸³ Demolition of the Lyons Motor Lodge began in April 2005, making way for the second stage of the Trilogy Resort complex. "Last days for city landmark," *Cairns Post*, 16 February 2005, p. 11.

⁸⁴ *QSNB*, p. 5.

⁸⁵ These included the Motel Mellick, Bellview Motel, the Cairns Motor Inn and the Central Hotel. Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for year 1972/73*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ This figure was comprised of 2,000 motel beds, 1,450 caravan sites, 1,250 holiday flats and guest houses and 570 licensed hotel beds. *QSNB*, circular no. 163, December 1974, p. 4.

GOING CAIRNS 1972/73

CAPTAIN

COOK

Surveys The
Scene Of

Motels

Holiday Flats

and

Apartments

in SHERIDAN
STREET



Figure 4.3: Cairns' 'motel strip' in the early 1970s. (Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report 1972/73*, p. 3)

Billabong, Palm Cove and Tropic Breeze.⁸⁷ New accommodation options became available on the Atherton Tableland also with the construction of a 12 unit motel at Tinnaburra Waters, Yungaburra⁸⁸ and a caravan park at Lake Tinaroo in 1974.⁸⁹ Motels were springing up all over the Tablelands in the 1970s, and in southern areas.

Cairns City's 'tourist heart' was upgraded in 1972 with the completion of the Hayles Jetty and Marlin Jetty allowing reef passengers to access their boats more comfortably and increasing boat moorings to 26.⁹⁰ This was a boon for the game fishing industry which had been vocal about the deplorable conditions of the city's wharves and jetties for some time. Associated with the upgrade of the jetty area was the city beautification programme. Considerable numbers of trees were planted during this decade in an effort to enhance the image of the city for international visitors.⁹¹ The Esplanade was seen by some as being in a lamentable condition in more ways than one.⁹² (see Figure 4.4)

The advertising of Queensland in general finally became more structured and coherent during the 1970s. The Queensland Government Tourist Bureau bombarded the southern

⁸⁷ J. Flett, "Turned on Tourism," in *North: the Queensland magazine*, no. 2, July 1976, no page numbers.

⁸⁸ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for year 1972/73*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ This caravan park was known as Evanott's Van Village and had 50 serviced caravan sites and a modern amenities building. *QSNB*, circular no. 163, December 1974, p. 4.

⁹⁰ "Big Facelift on Harbour Foreshore," in "Excerpts from the 1972 editions of the Cairns Post," *Cairns Post*, 10 May 2002, p. 10.

⁹¹ In 1973 3,000 trees were planted in the city area. Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for 1972/73*, p. 2. In 1974 the Civic Centre was landscaped with 388 trees and palms, 80 trees were planted near the Marlin Jetty parking area, and trees were planted at McLeod Street Cemetery. Cairns City Council, *Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1974*, p. 6. In 1977 the Cairns City Council's offer of free plants for planting on footpaths was taken up by 723 applicants, with a total of 2,113 plants distributed. In addition, 811 plants were used for the beautification of Centenary Lakes, Munro-Martin Park and Tobruk Pool. *Ibid.*, *Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1977*, p. 4. In 1978 more than 3,000 free shrubs and trees were provided to Cairns residents and council staff planted about 500 trees in various city streets, with about 200 palms planted on The Esplanade, Munro Martin Park and in the city area. *Ibid.*, *Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1978*, p. 9.

⁹² *Cairns: fun in the sun*, no page number.

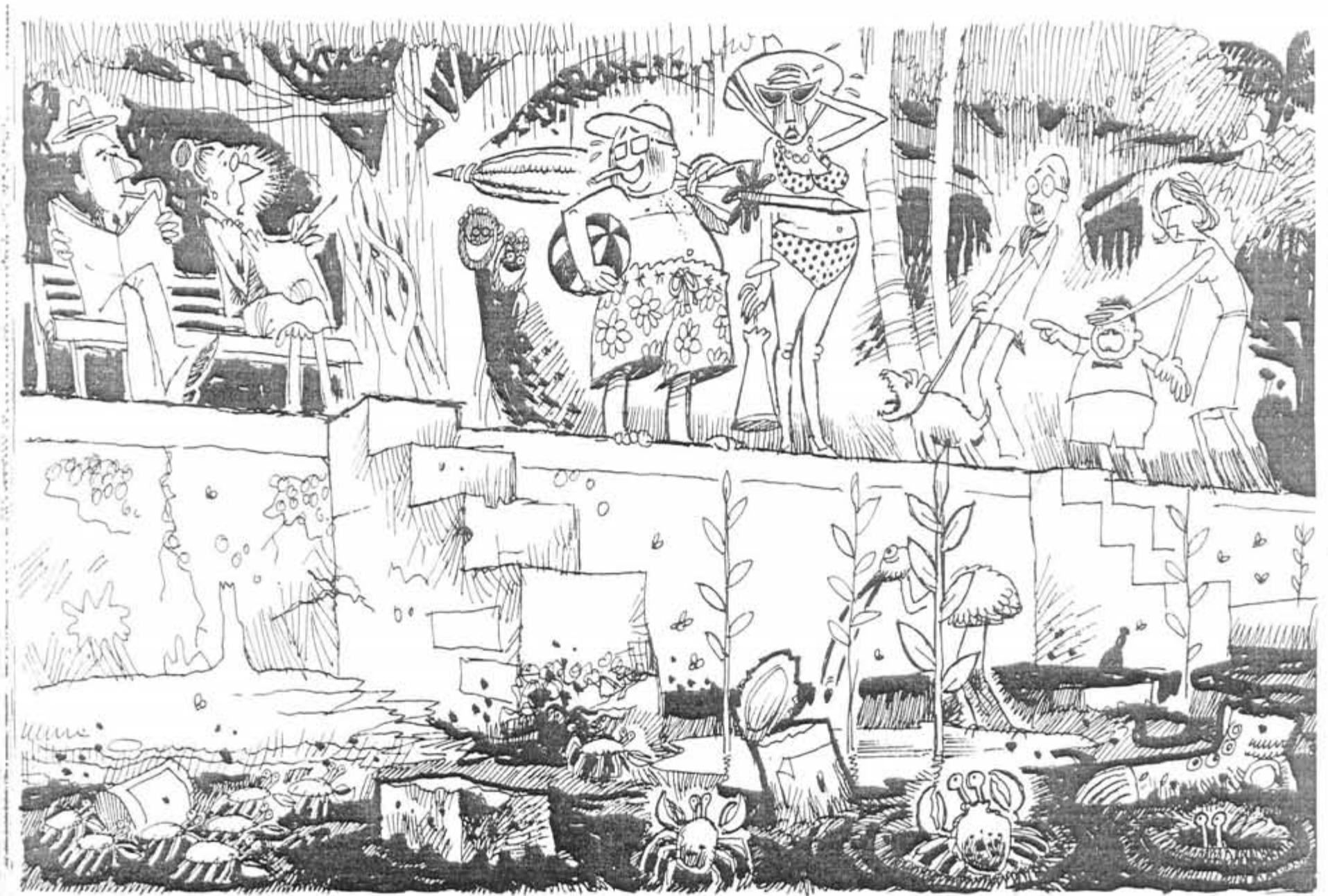


Figure 4.4: 'Our coastline is a succession of fantastic beaches – the Esplanade section being a possible exception...' (Cairns: *Fun in the Sun*, 1971)

states and New Zealand with advertising to entice more visitors to the 'Sunshine State' during the winter months.⁹³ In 1975 the Bureau was one of the first national advertisers to use colour television when it was introduced. It ran six new commercials promoting Queensland on a regional basis, with holiday packages based on Cairns marketed as 'Coral Queensland'.⁹⁴ In addition to television the QGTB used colour magazines, newspapers, cinema and direct mail to promote the region. Travel agents were shown colourful films, particularly of the region's islands, in an effort to position Queensland as an exotic destination. These films were later released for general viewing in Australian and New Zealand theatres.⁹⁵ In 1972 the Board for Tourism and Travel appointed a Promotion Officer for the region, set up a fund to develop the industry for the following five years, and produced a 52 page booklet on the tourist facilities and attractions of the region which was distributed free of charge to visitors.⁹⁶

The promotion of the Cairns region became gimmicky and expensive during this period. The Far North Queensland Tourist Authority, a committee of the Far North Queensland Development Bureau, was formed in 1972 to expand and promote the travel industry.⁹⁷ The slogan 'Tropic Wonderland' was adopted in 1973 for the area, a slogan coined more than twenty years earlier when it was used for tour advertising.⁹⁸ The 'See Queensland

⁹³ QSNB, Circular no. 131, April 1972, p. 2.

⁹⁴ The Bureau divided the State into six holiday packages, each of which had seaboard, island and outback components. Townsville was marketed as 'Tropical Queensland,' Mackay as 'Whitsunday Queensland,' Rockhampton as 'Capricorn Queensland,' Hervey Bay, Maryborough and Bundaberg as 'Caravan Queensland,' and Brisbane, the Gold Coast, the Sunshine Coast, and the Darling Downs as 'Queensland Surf Coast.' *Ibid.*, Circular no. 162, November 1974, p. 2.

⁹⁵ A film about the island resorts of the Great Barrier Reef titled 'One Island More' was produced at a cost of \$52,000 to show on a four day promotional tour in Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide in 1976. *Ibid.*, Circular no. 178, March 1976, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Cairns Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for 1972/73*, p. 2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, *Annual Report for 1971/72*, p. 19.

⁹⁸ QSNB, Circular no. 142, March 1973, p. 4.

First' campaign was introduced to promote Tourist Development Week in 1975.⁹⁹ This was an elaborate campaign with a cavalcade of cars driving from Brisbane to Cairns. Members of tourist associations turned out to meet the cavalcade in towns along the eastern seaboard. To support the cavalcade, a light aircraft travelled along the route making sweeps over major centers along the route and towing a huge 'See Queensland First' banner.

In 1975 tourist spending through the QGTB reached a record \$11.1 million and an unprecedented number of enquiries for travel in Queensland were recorded. This was attributed to the success of publicity and advertising campaigns in southern states and New Zealand.¹⁰⁰ Queensland's product range and promotion became more sophisticated due to the establishment of Sunlover Holidays, a wholesaler that offered a large range of Queensland products for travel agents and travellers to choose from.¹⁰¹ However, by 1976 inflation was beginning to adversely affect the tourism industry resulting in some infrastructure projects in the region being deferred or losing their tourism subsidy.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The establishment and development of tourism promotion bodies in the Cairns region, particularly by locally based bodies, was a long and erratic process. The QGTB and shipping companies established a stranglehold over the attractions visited by tourists and

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Circular no. 172, September 1975, pp. 2 – 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Circular no. 171, August 1975, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ J. Richardson, *A History of Australian Travel*, p. 284.

¹⁰² The establishment of a Tourist Terminal in Cairns was deferred in 1976 as the Minister for Tourism advised that a subsidy was no longer available for the development of tourist attractions. Cairns Harbour Board, *Annual Report for year ended 30 June 1976*, p. 6.

the length of time spent in the region through their respective control over itineraries and shipping schedules. Hampered by lack of funds, common ground or enthusiasm, various bodies emerged and declined. The QGTB's control did not begin to wane until the 1960s when people began to travel more extensively by car and later aeroplane. The amalgamation of various promotion bodies to form the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau in 1978, along with the development of a more sophisticated product range through package tour wholesalers provided the local tourism industry its much needed publicity, stability and focus, and travellers with choice and variety.

CHAPTER 5: IDEAS SHAPING THE LANDSCAPE:

UTILITARIANISM AND ROMANTICISM

The tourism landscape of Cairns and its hinterland was shaped by both utilitarianism and Romantic ideals. The utilitarian idea of progress was paramount in harnessing the region's resources of timber, minerals and agricultural products. Romantic ideals persisted never-the-less due the unusual environment: tropical jungle and the Great Barrier Reef and its islands. By the time the Cairns region was 'discovered' the idea of what constituted a Romantic vista was well established and the region was able to provide waterfalls, jungle and islands to suit. The tropical location was able to provide the exoticism and novelty sought by European travellers. Due to access difficulties the Great Barrier Reef was 'discovered' relatively late in the 1930s by authors and artists. It was better known by scientists, who studied it from the 1890s. Dominant perceptions of the Reef were formed largely through a scientific paradigm which began to emerge during the 1930s but there were also Romantic descriptions. Despite the focus of early settlers and investors on economic exploitation of the landscape a number of tourist attractions emerged based on the very resources being exploited and were largely framed in Romantic terms.

Utilitarianism

Early European perceptions of the Cairns district were overwhelmingly utilitarian. The landscape was largely appraised in terms of those natural resources suited for economic use. This does not indicate that these early visitors and settlers did not appreciate and admire other qualities of the landscape. Invariably they did, but this was a newly settled area and the attention of most inhabitants and the government was

on settlement and obtaining a living from exploitation of the area's timber, minerals and pastoral and agricultural potential. W.H. Traill's account of the rainforest of the Barron Gorge captures this way of viewing the landscape. His is one of the many puzzling descriptions which admire the scenic qualities on one hand, only to suggest its economical potential thereby forecasting the destruction of those scenic values a few sentences or paragraphs later. Such inconsistencies do not appear to be important in early literature designed to attract the settler, investor and traveller. Traill's view is essentially one steeped in Enlightenment ideals of progress:

...dense jungly scrubs present a tangled wealth of tropic flora: ferns, orchids, and flowering plants clothe the soil, above them wave the broad leaves of the wild banana, while over all tower graceful palms, and mighty cedars of vast girth invite the axe of the timber-getter...¹

Victor Kennedy, who extolled the beauty of the Far North, 'its richness of colour and its peculiar grandeur,' saw that:

...Nature, more than Man, [sic] has blessed these New Countries and man may reap where he has not sown. This, of course, is qualified by the natural provision that man must work ere he may eat...²

Despite the utilitarian drive of the majority of early settlers and investors of the Cairns region, a small but significant number held Romantic ideals regarding the landscape and strove to write about it, draw it or preserve it in the form of early tourist attractions, some of which survive today.

¹ W.H. Traill, "Historical Sketch of Queensland," in A. Garran (Ed), *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, (Sydney, 1886), p. 96.

² V. Kennedy, "Queensland Calling: far famed beauty of the farthest north," June 1929, vol. 4, no. 26, p. 41.

Romanticism

Our attitude toward nature³ has changed markedly since ancient times, particularly in the two hundred years since the advent of the Romantic Movement in Western culture at the end of the 18th century. The indifference and hostility towards that part of nature with no economic use prior to this period cannot be underestimated. Due to the unpredictability of nature, particularly its ability to wreak havoc in the lives of everyday people, humans over time have worked to 'tame,' 'harness,' and modify nature. Until the influence of the Romantic Movement only the tamed and cultivated natural world met with approval. Wilder landscapes were ignored or feared. This changed with the Romantics who began to favour 'wild' landscapes.

By the 19th century ambivalence toward nature, along with Enlightenment ideals of reason and its emphasis on the rational, were being challenged. Romanticism is not easily defined. It is a set of philosophies which elevated feeling, emotion and nature, and indeed linked them through emotional responses to 'wild' landscapes. It is associated with a cluster of attitudes and preferences:

...The Romantic favours the concrete over the abstract, variety over uniformity, the infinite over the finite, nature over culture, convention, and artifice, the organic over the mechanical, freedom over constraint, rules, and limitations...⁴

Romantic poets, novelists and painters were influential in the development of this new way of knowing the landscape and nature. Wordsworth's poetry is thought to epitomise the Romantic philosophy of nature and is significant in the development of scenic tourism. He invoked what today would be called the 'spirit of nature' and the 'spirit of place' with his expression of the forms and qualities of nature, thereby

³ Nature is treated here as an historical and cultural construct, an idea that early settlers and travellers brought with them, rather than something quite separate from culture.

⁴ T. Honderich (Ed), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, (Oxford, 1995), p. 778.

showing how strongly humans are bound to the natural world.⁵ Wordsworth's poem 'Tintern Abbey' written in 1798 when revisiting the banks of the Wye River during a tour illustrates particularly his belief that his knowledge was based upon natural sensations:

....Therefore I am still
a lover of the meadows and the woods,
and mountains; and of all that we behold
from this green earth, of all the mighty world
of eye and ear, - both what they half create,
and what perceive; well pleased to recognise
in nature and the language of the sense
the anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
the guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
of all my moral being...⁶

Wordsworth also identified the places tourists should visit, stimulated their imagination with his poetry, and fashioned their perceptions of that which they were viewing through his fascination with particular places, such as Salisbury Plains and the Quantocks in the south of England, the Inner Hebrides in the north and the Lakes District, which he popularised through his poetry and his authorship of a tourist guide to the area.⁷

Nature as partaking of the Divine was a strong Romantic theme. This is again seen in the writings of Wordsworth, who also included agricultural landscapes and the people who worked them.⁸ Wordsworth did not distinguish between 'natural' and agricultural landscapes as we understand them today; his primary distinction was between the rural and the urban, as he detested London. Much was invested in virtues of nature by poets and philosophers who came to see it as a source of wisdom

⁵ P. Newby, "Literature and the fashioning of tourist taste", in D. Pocock (Ed), *Humanistic Geography and literature: essays on the experience of place*, (London, 1981), p. 131.

⁶ W. Wordsworth, "Tintern Abbey," in A.K. Thompson & J. Wright, *The Poet's Pen*, (Brisbane, 1965), p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ G. Seddon, *Landprints*, p. 8.

and spiritual comfort. It took on religious overtones as a means of achieving revelation, and was seen as morally superior to the evils of the artificial and unhealthy city.⁹

By the nineteenth century people were more aware and accepting of nature and sought out landscapes which reflected the notion of a Romantic scene.¹⁰ Romantic scenery at this time was sublime and beautiful, or at least picturesque. Descriptions often extolled in awestruck terms Nature and the Creator. Brady provides one of the best examples of this prose style in relation to North Queensland. He sought to evoke an emotional response to this vast and mysterious land and found an ancient landscape in the primeval nature he confronted on his travels. His description of the road to Chillagoe warrants being recounted at length:

... I am not saying that this Chillagoe road is beautiful; but it is unique. It presents features not to be found elsewhere on the Continent... it is bizarre, rare; fascinating in the completeness of desolation; compelling in the weird aspects of a world up-ended.

No picture of Hunnish bombardment in Belgium or France can compare with the bombardments left by immemorial forces of Nature on this long approach to Chillagoe. Results of primal explosion and upheaval are everywhere.

Cyclopean armies have marched and re-marched over gigantic battlegrounds... minotaurs have driven chariots of fire around it, scattering charges of rack-a-rock¹¹ around it – as children throw fire-crackers at one another from go-carts on days of celebration.

Devils have fought out their obscene quarrels on its blasted hill-sides, and left abandoned ammunition dumps of rounded pebbles as mementos of their wrath.

Gods have vied with one another in the creation of Chaos.

They have smitten the surface of things with supernatural weapons, and hurled scenery hither and thither with their heavenly implements – beside which steam shovels are as afternoon teaspoons.

It is a hairy, male landscape with no soft, feminine curve or line about it.

It obstructs your approach with fierce gorilla-like menaces.

Everywhere are ogres guarding the gates of treasure caves, which you instinctively feel MUST exist somewhere beyond these bastions and mazes,

⁹ Y. Tuan, *Topophilia*, p. 107.

¹⁰ K. Hartig, *Images of the Blue Mountains*, p. 60.

¹¹ Rack-a-rock was a type of explosive.

these battlements of naked rock and sun-tortured turrets of thirst and desolation.

In Brobdingnagian strongholds, on hill summits seen dimly across glittering landscape, through thin forests of twisted trees – on which lead-coloured leaves grow sparsely – these stony giants contest the miles.

Bones of those they have slain, cleanly picked, and bleached to ghastly whiteness, are sometimes stumbled upon by startled prospectors. Their stories will never be written. One dreads to think within one's shuddering soul what adamant Monsters watched their death throes with relentless eyes.

... Strong souls are those that go out alone in the waterless lands of Giants who guard the gates of Chillagoe...¹²

Descriptions of the landscape of Far North Queensland which praised Nature and the Creator persisted into the 1950s with "Glories of Far North":

...late winter and spring, in the far northern clime
of Queensland, is nature paraded sublime.

Sunny days with cool evenings, produces the best
unfolding each wonder at the Master's behest;
the bush unspoiled by man's ravaging hand
is to the discerning, a pristine fairyland.

Come all ye, who weary, of life's hectic mood
and enjoy nature's tonic, as He meant you should.

The foliage green and azure blue skies
is sufficient excuse to thus rhapsodise...¹³

Sometimes the Creator was not invoked at all and Nature was seen as supreme. Co-existing with the Romantic paradigm was the scientific paradigm. The 19th century scientific resonated with the Romantic. The 'discovery' of tropical rainforests of North Queensland occurred at a time when Europeans viewed colonies such as Queensland as places to bring things back from. It is difficult to overstate the allure of the rainforest for scientists of the 19th century. This was the era of scientific travel and "...the investigation of nature was the great 19th century work..."¹⁴ They were searching for the "...creative mechanism which powered the earth..."¹⁵ For them the jungle was full of possibilities; it was the "...new Garden of Eden, an environment in

¹² E.J. Brady, *The Land of the Sun*, (London, 1924), pp. 161 – 163.

¹³ S. Dean, "Glories of Far North," *Cairns Post*, 9 October 1954.

¹⁴ P. Raby, *Bright Paradise: Victorian scientific travellers*, (New Jersey, 1996), p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

which all forms of life presented themselves for inspection...[it]became not only an extreme experience to be endured, but the primal and true source of understanding, the site of the tree of knowledge...¹⁶ Naturalists such as Humboldt, Bates and Wallace published accounts of their findings in tropical jungles. These accounts according to Raby were sometimes distorted into other cultural forms, which during the 19th century was most commonly the novel.¹⁷ This continued into the 20th century and arguably tourism literature appropriated and distorted accounts of scientific findings under the banner of the 'picturesque' to meet its requirements. Through its use of pictures and descriptive text, picturesque travel literature became a "...device for the ordering of both 'nature' and 'life,' an environmental framework and a form of ethnography..."¹⁸ This was seen most commonly in early descriptions of the Lakes Eacham and Barrine, where modern scientific knowledge was used to impress the visitor and contrasted with the Romantic 'superstitions' of the Aborigines:

...lake [Eacham] is almost circular in shape, and is entirely surrounded by dense scrub timbers and undergrowth...its surface is aquamarine in colouring, but its waters are fresh and absolutely pure. They have been fathomed to a depth of 240 ft., with an average depth of 220 ft. That they are contained within a crater is a scientifically accepted fact; that they have subterranean connection with the waters of Lake Barrine, which is miles away, is perhaps mere superstition of the Aborigines...¹⁹

Hypipamee Crater, near Herberton, described today as "...a diatrema formed by the explosive eruption of volcanic gases..."²⁰ was such an oddity in the early 20th century that most writers used scientific descriptions to make sense of, and advertise it:

...a strange geological phenomenon representing a sheer drop of a lighter rock stratum from the surrounding main granite formation. To the surface of the water (contained therein) from the lowest point of the lip of The Crater is 170

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ T. Hughes-d'Aeth, "Pretty as a Picture," p. 100.

¹⁹ QGIB, *North Queensland, Australia's richest territory: fertile land and beauty spots*, (Brisbane, 1928), p. 29.

²⁰ D. McColl, "Tableland etched by violent past," *Cairns Post Weekend Extra*, 30 November 2002, p. 6.

ft., and from this surface a plumb line at 590 ft. failed to sound bottom. The diameter is 200 ft., with a surface extent of one acre...²¹

The intermingling of the Romantic and the scientific was also seen in descriptions of the Great Barrier Reef:

...in the ports of Europe old sailors spin their yarns, telling tales of the wide, wide world, tales of the Southern Seas. They tell how once they sailed into the calm lagoon, beached their boat upon the yellow sand, and walked beneath the coconut palms to the native village. From the brown thatched houses came brown men and women – stalwart men and handsome women – who gave to their visitors strange and delicious fruits, and who decked them with sweet garlands of flowers. But behind the brightness of this picture was a gloomy shadow – the shadow of coral... Today the dread of the coral has abated... the builder of [the coral] is, to express it simply, a little lump of animated jelly, often termed the ‘coral insect,’ but more properly called a polyp. This varies from the size of a hand to that of a pinhead, and is almost exactly like a sea anemone. Corresponding to the petals of a flower are a circle of waving arms and in their centre the stomach. As animalculae float past and touch the polyp they are secured with tiny poison darts...²²

Mulligan and Hill have commented upon this intermingling in relation to Streeton's art. While critics have labelled some of his works as depicting a simplistic and idealised image of peaceful coexistence between people and nature, his aim was to inspire people with visions of a possible coexistence.²³ Mulligan and Hill posit that in this sense, Streeton belongs to the newly ‘rediscovered’ romantic ecology movement. Perhaps this idea can be extrapolated to literature with the identification of the aim of authors in their portrayal of the landscape, allowing a more nuanced analysis of the cultural landscape.

Prior to the 1950s and the arrival of television, literature was influential in shaping the perceptions of areas such as Cairns. This area was settled well after sub-tropical Australia so the frontier was both a part of a developing Australian sense of identity

²¹ QGIB, *North Queensland: Australia's richest territory*, p. 38.

²² QGTB, *The Great Barrier Reef of Australia*, pp. 3 & 11.

²³ M. Mulligan & S. Hill, *Ecological Pioneers*, p. 53.

and everyday reality in the North until the present.²⁴ Despite this the area supported regional authors such as Ernst Favenc,²⁵ Louis Becke,²⁶ Archibald Meston,²⁷ Stephan von Kotze,²⁸ Randolph Bedford,²⁹ E.J. Banfield,³⁰ Victor Kennedy,³¹ and Frank Reid³² who were unusually influential given that North Queensland was so thinly populated, isolated and politically unimportant.³³ Most of these men were prolific writers and contributed regularly to the *Bulletin*, a paper which helped to shape emerging national identity along with the *Queenslander*, *Queensland Punch* and the

²⁴ C. Taylor, "Shaping a Regional Identity: literary non-fiction and short fiction in North Queensland," *Queensland Review*, November 2001, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 41.

²⁵ Ernest Favenc's stories were drawn from his experiences between 1863 – 1897 as a miner, explorer, drover and station superintendent in the Burdekin valley, the Gulf and coastal North Queensland. *Ibid.*

²⁶ Louis Becke lived in North Queensland for two periods between 1875 – 1888 working as a gold prospector at Palmer River and at Charters Towers, on a cattle station and as a bank clerk and proof reader in Townsville. His 1908 account of the coastline between Cape Flattery and Cape Tribulation in the *Pearls of Roncador* provide one of the earliest descriptions of today's Daintree area. *Ibid.*

²⁷ Archibald Meston resided in Townsville for a short period. In 1899 he led an expedition into the Bellenden-Ker Ker ranges and was the originator of the 1897 *Aboriginals Protection Act*. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 – 43. His 1885 account of the Barron Falls in flood is notable for its extravagance and suggests an almost religious experience. A. Meston, "Memories of the Late Archibald Meston: the Barron Falls in flood time," *C & C*, 1934, vol. 5, no. 84, pp. 49 – 51.

²⁸ Stefan von Kotze, German born, wrote during the 1890s. He drew his material from his experiences as a drover, pearl-diver, cane-cutter, journalist, editor and miner. His 1909 *Stories from Australia* is a collection of sketches and stories which "depict the crudities of regional bush life, the waterless landscape, the dust and the heat, with an honesty which rejects mythologising trends." C. Taylor, "Shaping a Regional Identity," p. 43.

²⁹ Randolph Bedford, arch-nationalist, republican, Labour politician and miner enthusiastically extolled the virtues of Queensland. Many of his tales constructed "the region as an arena for masculine physical accomplishment, friendship, and self expression, unconstrained by the presence of women." *Ibid.*, p. 44. Bedford was also a staunch defender of northern Australia's tropical climate which was seen to be the source of European degeneracy and debilitating disease. In his writing he promoted the view that "...Australian heat made bolder and more adventurous types and more resilient bodies; it was entirely therapeutic and the more you got of it the better off you were..." D. Walker, "The Curse of the Tropics," in T. Sherratt, T. Griffiths & L. Robin (Eds), *A Change in the Weather: climate and culture in Australia*, (Canberra, 2005), p. 97.

³⁰ A contrast to this style of writing was that of E.J. Banfield who delighted in the flora and fauna of particularly Dunk Island and the freedom and fulfillment he derived from his tropical paradise. Banfield published extensively in the *North Queensland Register* and the *Townsville Bulletin*. Many of these articles formed the basis of his books *The Confessions of a Beachcomber* (1908), *My Tropic Isle* (1911), *Tropic Days* (1914), and *Last Leaves from Dunk Island* (1923). C. Taylor, "Shaping a Regional Identity," pp. 44 – 45.

³¹ Victor Kennedy (1895 – 1952) was born in Victoria. He was a well known travel writer, journalist and poet. W. Wilde, J. Hooton & B. Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, (Melbourne, 1985), p. 387.

³² Frank Reid, born Alexander Vindex Vennard in Winton, was a journalist in Sydney from 1905 – 1922. He, like Meston interpreted North Queensland for southern readers in a series of articles and sketches in the *Bulletin*, *Smith's Weekly*, the *Sydney Mail* and the *Australasian*. He returned to Queensland in 1922, residing in Bowen where he contributed to the *Queenslander*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *North Queensland Register*. Reid published three books: *The Toilers of the Sea* (1922), a children's version of this titled *The Toilers of the Reef* (1925), and *Romance of the Great Barrier Reef*, printed posthumously in 1954. C. Taylor, "Shaping Regional Identity," p. 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Sydney Mail. As well as contributing to the pioneering legend in Australia, their works were taken up by the reading public overseas as part of the Romantic genre, particularly Banfield's works.³⁴ Other authors important in shaping perceptions and who produced work on North Queensland were Charles Barrett,³⁵ Frank Dalby Davison,³⁶ Frank Clune,³⁷ Edwin J Brady,³⁸ Thomas Wood, and C.B. Christesen.³⁹

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 42. Taylor sees that of these eight men only Banfield "diverged from some of the [white male hegemonic]... assumptions governing North Queensland's frontier society to produce a distinctive vision of the region." Banfield's observations of nature and accounts of the region's history and geography brought a realistic quality which contrasted with Becke and Bedford's tropical-island-escape-fantasies. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

³⁵ Charles Barrett (1879–1959), was a nature essayist and travel writer who like British naturalist Richard Jefferies and influential Australian naturalist Donald MacDonald sought to evoke both the natural and human dimensions of the landscape, and to 'read' and interpret the landscape for immigrants. Barrett wrote as 'the Scribe' for the *New Idea* in 1905–6 and published specialist pieces in the *Victorian Naturalist* and the *Emu*. He wrote for the *Melbourne Herald* for 30 years from 1906 and published over 60 books on Australian natural history, landscape, Aborigines and folklore. His book *From Range to Sea* (1907) was illustrated with Claude Kinane's photographs of birds in their nests. These were some of the earliest examples of such images to appear in Australia. He portrayed the landscape of North Queensland in *Australian Caves, Cliffs and Waterfalls* (1944) and *The Sunlit Land: wanderings in Queensland* (1947). T. Griffith, *Hunters and Collectors: the antiquarian imagination in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1996), pp. 118, 122, 129 & 130. In the early 1900s Barrett, Kinane and Brook Nicholls set up a 'bush camp' at the foot of the Dandenong Ranges. Collectively they were known as the 'Woodlanders' following Thomas Hardy's work on rural English life. They called their hut 'Walden,' taking their inspiration from the home of their hero, Henry David Thoreau. M. Mulligan & S. Hill, *Ecological Pioneers*, p. 113.

³⁶ Frank Dalby Davison wrote *Man-shy*, a 'realistic' animal story. This genre, popular in North America where Davison had lived from 1908–1914, was not popular in Australia except in children's tales. *Man-shy* is seen as being unique in Australian literature. T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: environment and history in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*, (Melbourne, 1999), p. 197.

³⁷ Frank Clune (1893–1971) was a prolific author of works of Australian history, travel, adventure, autobiography and biography. J. Arnold & J. Hay (Eds), *The Biography of Australian Literature, A–E*, (Victoria, 2001), p. 345.

³⁸ Edwin James Brady (1869–1952) was a prolific writer across a number of genres including travel, poetry and fiction. He edited the first Australian labour paper, the *Australian Workman* and the journal *Native Companion*. *Ibid.*, pp. 192–193. He was involved in the movement to tap the seemingly unlimited underground water reserves of central Australia. This was an idea dating from the 1880s which gained momentum after World War I. The definitive statement, which gave the movement its name, was Edwin J Brady's 1,083 page 'effusion,' *Australia Unlimited*, published in 1918. T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, p. 174. Brady also sought to counter the negative notions about the effect of the tropical climate on the morals, lifestyle and mortality of the country's northern inhabitants. He trumpeted the successes of Europeans in tropical Australia and declared that the country had the best climate in the world. D. Walker, "The Curse of the tropics," p. 100.

³⁹ Clement Byrne Christesen (1911–?) founded *Meanjin* in 1940 which he edited until 1974. J. Arnold & J. Hay (Eds), *Biography of Australian Literature*, p. 321. He wrote fiction and poetry and was the author of a travel book titled *Queensland Journey: official guide of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau*, published circa 1935. He made extensive use of flowery language in his descriptions of the sights of Queensland and the Cairns region. Christesen draws on the works of other prominent travel writers such as Randolph Bedford, E.J. Brady, Thomas Wood, 'old timers' yarns, and the Romantic poets to draw the reader into the romance of Cairns' past and perpetuate the Romantic image of the Cairns region. C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*.

Perhaps the most influential of these authors in shaping perceptions of the Cairns region and advocating the development of tourism was Victor Kennedy. He lived in Cairns from 1927 to 1932 and during this time he was Chief Reporter for the Cairns Post,⁴⁰ established his own newspaper,⁴¹ and helped found the North Queensland Naturalist Club,⁴² the Alpine Club, the Cairns Art Society and the Cairns Literary and Philosophical Club.⁴³ He travelled extensively and wrote many articles on attractions such as the Gillies Highway, Yungaburra and the Crater Lakes which were also published in national magazines and newspapers.⁴⁴ He became fascinated by the Great Barrier Reef and spent much time exploring, learning and writing articles about it. In the late 1920s a volume of poems *Farthest North and other verses*, recorded some of his impressions, particularly of the Great Barrier Reef. At least one reviewer saw the volume as "...unique in the sense that it is the first of its kind to be published so far north as Cairns..."⁴⁵ (see Appendix 2)

Kennedy's newspaper *Northern Affairs* was likened to the *Bulletin* as it too was 'racily written' with illustrations provided by *Bulletin* cartoonist Les Such⁴⁶ and local cartoonist H.W. Blom.⁴⁷ Well known authors such as Randolph Bedford,⁴⁸ Vance and Nettie Palmer and Frank Reid⁴⁹ contributed to the paper and Kennedy wrote many of

⁴⁰ Kennedy was editor of the *Cairns Post* from March 1926 to February 1931. M. Cavill, *Victor Kennedy: in pursuit of sunlight*, (Victoria, 2004), pp. 41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55 – 57 & 63. He opened his own newspaper, *Northern Affairs*, in May 1931 to help the development of the North and assist Australian art and literature. The paper closed in July 1932.

⁴² This club attracted people who were important in the development of tourism in the region including Hugo Flecker, Vance Vlasoff and Lloyd Grigg. A. Hudson, "The North I Knew: nature's own doctor," *Cairns Post*, 28 January 2005, p. 16.

⁴³ M. Cavill, *Victor Kennedy*, pp. 61 & 65.

⁴⁴ Kennedy published his travel articles in *Stead's Review*, *The Northern Herald* and the *Daily Mail*. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Blom also contributed short stories to the newspaper. See for example "A Desprit Adventure," *Northern Affairs*, 4 March 1932, pp. 14 – 15.

⁴⁸ R. Bedford, "The Lure of the Cairns District," *Ibid.*, 15 July 1932, p. 9.

⁴⁹ M. Cavill, *Victor Kennedy*, p. 58.

the articles under his various pen names.⁵⁰ Unknown writers began to contribute articles and they formed the nucleus of his Literary Club. The paper was well received and widely circulated in the southern states. Such was the quality of the newspaper that hundreds of copies were distributed to travellers by the Tourist Bureaux in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne.⁵¹

Importantly for the development of the tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region at least five of these men were the authors of travel guides published during this period.⁵² Romantic language was used to good effect in a number of the early travel guides and brochures. In 1930 the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau (QGTB) published a travel guide which described a tiny stream coming down to meet the road on the Gillies Highway; a stream whimsically imagined as beginning in a bubbling mountain spring in some quiet jungle-sheltered recess. This 'trickling stream' was elaborately imagined:

Peace hath an altar here. The sounding feet
of thunder and the 'wilderings wings of rain
against fire-rifted summits flash and beat.
And through grey upper gorges swoop and strain,
year after year, the days of tender heat
and gracious night, whose lips with flowers are sweet
And filtered lights and lutes of soft refrain.⁵³

⁵⁰ Kennedy wrote under various pen names including 'Kay,' 'Novus Homo,' 'lugger's mate,' 'travel stain,' 'Greek god,' and 'Pasquin.' *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵¹ "Editorial," *Northern Affairs*, 15 July 1932.

⁵² These include E.J. Banfield, 1907, "Within the Barrier: tourist guide to the North Queensland Coast," in *The Winter Paradise of Australia*; A. Meston, 1890, *Queensland Railway and Tourist Guide*; C.B. Christesen, circa 1935, *Queensland Journey: official guide of the Queensland Government Tourist Bureau*; and Charles Barrett, circa 1940s, "The Sunshine Route: along the coast to Cairns," which contains passages from *The Sunlit Land: wanderings in Queensland*; *North Queensland: the cream of the continent*, an anonymous pamphlet whose author has a remarkably similar style to E.J. Brady. Victor Kennedy wrote two tourist guides: *By Range and River in the Queensland Tropics*, in 1930; and *Cairns North Queensland Guide Book: winter tours*, in 1933.

⁵³ QGTB, 1930, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 20.

Even critics of this flowery genre could not escape it. For example, efforts were being made in the local paper by 1893 to redress what had been identified as ‘Mestonian excesses’ in describing the region’s landscape. Meston regarded the view of the Barron Falls in flood as having no rival in the known world.⁵⁴ A correspondent to the *Cairns Argus* dismissed Meston’s description of the Falls as an extravagant account of the commonplace yet presented an account of the Chillagoe caves which, while evoking less of the sublime in its prose, is none-the-less representative of the Romantic genre as it conjures up a supernatural realm and fairyland:

...Not indeed to a Paradise do we lead, no park, as this word implies, but rather to the borders of the nether world, where darkness and dim twilight reign supreme. Yet withal to a very fairyland of beauties... beauties that would remind you of your earliest dreams, of pixies, hob-goblins and fairy queens, you will see them in the eye of the imagination once more, coming from out the dark nowhere and tripping from rock to rock. By a weird, dim and prismatic daylight, you will see walls studded with diamonds, fairy couches...⁵⁵

At least two women authored tourist brochures prior to 1920. Both brochures were the initiative of the Queensland Government Intelligence Bureau (QGIB) indicating governmental awareness of women’s interest in travel. These included *How I Spent a Fortnight at Kuranda* and *Up North: a woman’s journey through tropical North Queensland*.⁵⁶ Both women were keen to visit Kuranda “... that paradise of honeymooners...”⁵⁷ and wrote about similar things such as Nature and the Barron Falls, but each experienced Kuranda differently and had quite different styles of writing. Clow appears to have been the equivalent of a tour guide as she accompanied

⁵⁴ See Appendix 3 for Meston’s description of the 1885 flood of the Barron Falls.

⁵⁵ ‘Special Correspondent,’ “The Caves of Chillagoe: more beauties,” *Cairns Argus*, 22 July 1893.

⁵⁶ M. Clow, *How I Spent a Fortnight at Kuranda*, (Brisbane, 1914), and *Up North: a woman’s journey through tropical North Queensland*. This was probably authored by Miss Harriet Nowland, a journalist employed by the Queensland government. Around this time she was travelling around North Queensland with a view to writing a tourist guide. See F.P. Dodd, *Notes on North Queensland and New Guinea Collection of F.P. Dodd, with references to the climate and scenery of the Kuranda District*, circa 1917, p. 5.

⁵⁷ QITB, *Up North: a woman’s journey through tropical North Queensland*, (Brisbane, circa pre 1920), p. 17.

sixty people to Kuranda.⁵⁸ Her resultant publication was essentially a tourist guide book promoting an adventurous holiday and a shopping spree, with its descriptions of climbing down the Barron Falls, walking through the rainforest to visit local beauty spots, and partaking of the shopping haven in the Oriental Room at Hunter's Kuranda Hotel.⁵⁹ The guide contained facts and figures, many advertisements for businesses in Cairns and Kuranda, and an extensive quasi scientific description of the flora and fauna of Kuranda. Nature's beauty and peculiarities are descriptively portrayed but lack the resonance of adherents to the Romantic genre:

... turning reluctantly from our view of the [Barron] River, we enter the scrub. It is cool and dim, and there is a pleasant earthy smell. Here and there the sun finds its way through the leafy canopy, and throws splashes of sunlight before our path. On either side tower tall trees, clothed with strange vines, which have twisted and climbed and pushed their way up the trunks and branches of their host, but loyal to Mother Earth, who had given them birth, send down their new shoots to be nourished at her ample breast...⁶⁰

Harriet Nowland by contrast engaged the reader's imagination as she used all of her senses in experiencing the voyage to Cairns, Cairns itself, and Kuranda. She likened the reef to a woman in her sweetest mood; "... she's a bewitching, fascinating beauty, and her lovers are the sons of the North..."⁶¹ The colours, smells and sounds of the tropics evoked varying reactions ranging from delight at the fragrance of the tropical flowers and the "... warmth and gorgeous colouring of the North..."⁶² curiosity as to how Nature would treat her; disappointment with the Barron Falls; wonder at the

⁵⁸ Margaret Clow was the pen name of Florence Clow Ross (1889 – 1968). Her trip to Kuranda coincided with her taking up the position of inaugural headmistress of the Kamerunga State School, Cairns, in 1913. M. Clow, *The Mecca of our Desires: Kuranda and the famous Barron Falls*, (Atherton, 2003), p. 57.

⁵⁹ On display in the 'Oriental Room' and available for purchase were silk kimonos, opera cloaks, Maltese lace collars, scarves, handkerchiefs and cards, drawn thread linen bedspreads, Assam silk umbrellas, rolls of Japanese material, mother of pearl hatpins, brooches and coat buttons, silver butterflies, and eastern brasswork curios. Much of the stock was imported from Japan. M. Clow, *How I Spent a Fortnight*, pp. 17 – 18 & 63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶¹ QGIB, *Up North*, p. 3.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Eastern feeling associated with Cairns; and sheer delight with the variety of trees, shrubs, flowers and fruit and vegetables at the Kamerunga Nursery.⁶³ Her experience of Kuranda by night produced a powerful emotional reaction:

...the French windows were open all night and through them came that delightful mountain of Kuranda. Once in the night I awakened at the wailing, melancholy note of the curlew, and, unable to resist the beauty of the night, I crept softly out on to the verandah. Just as the back of the hills the moon was rising, the air was like crystal, and involuntarily I shivered. Down below, at my feet almost, ran the river. Tall mango-trees stood out challengingly. Here and there a red hibiscus flamed, while there was the usual mysterious scent of flowers. Tropical flowers which somehow in the daytime I could never find. Challenging the curlew now and then was a mopoke, an unhappy bird that turned my beautiful, joyous night into melancholy. I was vexed; but surely there is even a sadness in the most beautiful things, and perhaps the poor old mopoke ought not to have been blamed...⁶⁴

The writing of Clow and Nowland, like Banfield's, delighted in the flora and fauna of the region and the freedom of the North. Clow in particular demonstrated that women were equal to the physical challenges of the region with her descent of the Barron Falls and walking expeditions. Aborigines were presented by both as curiosities, a photo opportunity, and almost as a sight for pity, rather than a people to be feared, hunted or disdained as was the case in many depictions by male authors. Echoes of Rousseau's 'noble savage' could be found in Nowland's observations:

... in the morning we strolled down to the blacks' mud camps. There was a brand new pickaninny, quite unclothed, just as Nature made it, with its little body shining like a bronze statue. We secured a snapshot of the older children swimming...⁶⁵

Perhaps one of the most striking features was the gender difference in prose styles. The more elaborate and effusive Romantic style of writing, the style particularly of Meston, Brady, Becke and Bedford, was not utilised by these women. Clow's writing

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21 – 23. The Kamerunga Nursery, established to introduce new economic plants to the region, was a tourist attraction in itself because of the wide variety of tropical fruits and flowering trees.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 – 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

was quite pragmatic whereas Nowland, while drawing on a classical education, used language in a simpler, artful way to stimulate the imagination and senses and draw the reader into the scene she was describing or experiencing. A critic of the time might say it was less educated or less literary.

The most frequently described feature of the Cairns district prior to 1900 was the Barron Falls. Archibald Meston provided the most extravagant account of the Falls in flood. (see Appendix 3) His description was published in the *Queenslander* in 1886 and in the *Queensland Railway and Tourists Guide* of 1890⁶⁶ and was distributed throughout Australia through railway stations and Steamer company offices. His account was also published in a pamphlet issued by the Queensland Commissioner to the International Exhibition of 1888 in Melbourne.⁶⁷

Meston's startling evocation of the sublime was not a reflection of logic or reason, but the outcome of his emotional or spiritual response to the Barron Falls in all its glory. This was a means by which Western Europeans understood the 'numinous,' the indescribable found in 'awful, grand and sublime' landscapes.⁶⁸ However, Meston was an avid nationalist, supporter of the colonial and imperial project, and enthusiastic Romantic who fashioned himself and his writing on Byron in particular. In his description of the Barron Falls in flood he sought to create a vision of the Falls through reference to and appropriation of established poetic models.⁶⁹ As Taylor

⁶⁶ A/12310: 3024 – 7910, 1902. Batch 4681. QSA. Meston published two articles on the Barron Falls: 'The Barron River Falls' and 'The Barron Falls in Flood Time,' both of which were published in the *Queenslander* 10 January 1885, p. 53 and 20 February 1886, p. 292 respectively. It is the latter article which is most frequently referred to.

⁶⁷ R. Searle, *Artist in the Tropics: 200 years of art in North Queensland*, (Townsville, 1991), p. 22

⁶⁸ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p.263.

⁶⁹ C. Taylor, "The Mighty Byronian Olympus: Queensland, the Romantic sublime and Archibald Meston," *Queensland Review*, April 2004, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 1 – 3.

notes, Meston quoted readily from Byron's *Childe Harold*⁷⁰ (see Appendix 3, page 4, lines 12 – 21; page 5, lines 1 - 2) and Milton's *Paradise Lost*⁷¹ in an effort to position the Falls alongside the great waterfalls of Europe.

A number of influential writers of the day concurred with Meston's description of the Falls. Hume Nisbet declared the Falls as "... one of the largest, if not *the* largest, waterfall in the world..."⁷² and recounted Meston's description in full. Donald MacDonald in less elaborate prose agrees with Meston's perceptions although he expended more words on the Barron Gorge than the Falls:

... in a short railway ride of 20 minutes from Cairns, one may travel through some of the finest scenery of Australia, culminating in the magnificent Barron Falls – the King of Cataracts... I have ridden on the box seat of a coach through the famous Buller and Otira gorges of New Zealand, and looked practically down into eternity, with only a solid foot of roadway intervening, but it is no more thrilling than this Railway run through the Barron Gorge... the train stops at the Falls, of which there is a superb view. There is no necessity to rhapsodise – go and see it...⁷³

⁷⁰ In *Childe Harold* Byron describes the cataract at Mount Velino in Italy. *Ibid.*, pp. 7 – 8.

⁷¹ Meston uses excerpts from *Paradise Lost* to liken the Barron Falls in flood to the river Phlegethon: "Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton / whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage..." He draws comparisons with Milton's Hell: "...Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell..." and chaos: "... Then Both from out Hell Gates into the waste / wide Anarchie of Chaos damp and dark / flew divers, and with power (thir power was great) / Hovering upon the Waters, what they met..." *Ibid.*, p. 8. H. Darbishire (Ed), *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, (London, 1958), Book 2, 580 – 81, Book 6, 380 & Book 10, 282 – 285.

⁷² H. Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp: travels and adventures in Australia and New Guinea*, vol. 2, (London, 1891), p. 102.

⁷³ *Queensland Pleasure Trips by Rail and by Steamer inside the Great Barrier Reef*, circa 1905, A/12445: 3640 – 3918, 1913. QSA. Donald MacDonald (circa 1859 – 1932), a journalist and a writer, was one of Australia's earliest nature writers. Griffiths suggests that through his writing he was seeking both the human and natural dimensions of the Australian landscape. He sought to make Australians familiar with their landscape through his Romantic prose style, which was published in essay form, in newspapers and tourist guides. MacDonald was influential in shaping perceptions of Aborigines for immigrants and travellers. T. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, pp. 118, 122. The publication of nature essays in newspapers was important in educating the population in nature particularly as editors such as MacDonald published replies to readers' questions. The importance of nature columns lay in their bringing together like minded individuals and clubs. Macdonald edited one for 30 years. The tradition was carried on by Alec Chisholm in the 1930s and Vincent Serventy, a naturalist from Western Australia, after World War II. T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, pp. 110 – 111.

Meston's elaborate description however was viewed as an astonishing overstatement by a number of disgruntled travellers, one claiming that "... if any businessman were responsible for such statements, I should say he swindled me,"⁷⁴ and another in more understated terms noting "...the Barron Falls are not what I was led to believe..."⁷⁵ Meston's description stimulated local interest with one correspondent to the *Cairns Post* penning a parody of the butterfly passage (see Appendix 3, page 4, lines 18 – 21; page 5, lines 1 – 2) suggesting less pure motives for Meston's aggrandisement of the Falls:

... who that has read the burning record of the Barron Falls; who that has wept and wondered at the thrilling fate of the Papillion ceruleus or azure tinted moth swept remorselessly to destruction over the surface of that aqueous tinted canvas drafted from the picture gallery of the Almighty to enhance the value of water frontages and swell the commissions of Cairns land agents but would view with reverential awe the pyramidal dome that shrouds from vulgar gaze the sesquipedalian intellect of the Barron's sacred bird ...⁷⁶

In 1907 E.J. Banfield in his one foray into tourism literature advises visitors:

... not [to] expect a stupendous and awful sight, but one of wild and fantastic beauty – a scene perhaps unique in its loveliness, but by no means so affecting as that prodigious gap in Nature – Govett's Leap – in the Blue Mountains...⁷⁷

The most dispassionate rebuttal of Meston's description is provided by Gilbert Parker who travelled to the Falls by horseback through the Barron Gorge in 1889:

... of the Falls there is no roar, there is no moaning sound such as comes from Niagara, but just the diapason of a tumbling mountain torrent... the falls are beautiful – only that; not stupendous, not exciting, not awe-inspiring – not at all. I have seen just such falls in many places in the world, and they remained without much more than mere local reputation. But these falls have been called this and that, and the other, 'till men like myself have burned to see them... it is not right to call this a Niagara... but there is joy to the Barron Falls – lovely streams tumble in a wide river bed, and over big boulders... there are pools of depth that man knows not and that the centuries

⁷⁴ G. Parker, *Round the Compass*, p.260.

⁷⁵ W. Middlemiss, Notes on a trip to North Queensland, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Cited by C. Taylor, in "The Mighty Byronian," p. 9. Taylor sees that Meston was motivated to publish his description of the Barron Falls to improve the value of his property 'Cambanora' located in Kamerunga, and to promote investment and tourism in the Cairns region. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁷ E.J. Banfield, *Within the Barrier*, p. 69.

have hollowed, the one set above the other; wells like basaltic pillars, hollow steps to a pyramid, and connecting with each other by such a rope of water as that falling from the mountain side, a hundred feet or more... there are overhanging rocks and rugged bulwarks, the cold walls of stone showing the water mark high up, and the hills on either side massed with their living green... there is all that; and in the long gorge there are unexpected caves, and granite alcoves, and grottoes of green, and the tireless hills that swell in an endless summer towards the heaven, and are always greener for the rain and riper for the sun. The visitor will spend longer time in travelling through that gorge, along that river, and in those hills than at the Falls themselves, except – the saving clause again – at Flood Time...⁷⁸

Gilbert Parker's disclaimer regarding the magnificence of the Falls is not uncommon in the literature of this period. Many of the less enthusiastic accounts may have been due to visiting the Falls during the dry season when the flow of water was much reduced, a point made in *Up North: a woman's journey through tropical North Queensland*, where the author expressed disappointment:

...Queenslanders talk long and loud of their Barron Falls. For some reason, I am ashamed to say, they did not make any marked impression on me. In various guide and tourist books I read what that realistic writer, Donald MacDonald, thought of them ...and still when they opened out to our view, I was not enormously impressed. In justice to myself, I must say that the Falls were not at their fullest...⁷⁹

The Falls in flood come rather closer to Meston's vision. Over one hundred years later people are still travelling to the Barron Falls to view one of the Region's natural phenomena, although as one wit concedes, "...some aren't quite as amazing as they were..."⁸⁰ (See Figure 5.1)

Images loved by Romantic artists and authors included gothic architecture, the supernatural, the grotesque, monsters, fairies and goblins, and medieval culture. Despite the late 'discovery' of the region by travellers, writers and artists, many of

⁷⁸ G. Parker, *Round the Compass*, pp. 260 – 262.

⁷⁹ QITB, *Up North*, pp. 17 – 18.

⁸⁰ Cairns: *fun in the sun*, no page number.

these images were applied to the landscape of North Queensland. The Crater Lakes, Barrine and Eacham, the Barron Falls, and the rainforest were particularly susceptible to the application of this type of imagery. Aborigines and Europeans alike experienced spiritual feelings at the Crater Lakes. Associated with Lake Barrine are Aboriginal legends and folklore, aspects of which were utilised by European writers to create or perpetuate the mystery and uncertainty of a place, in other words the sublimity of the attraction. Nothing would induce the Aborigines accompanying a traveller to Lake Eacham in 1897 to go to the "...weird place ... [inhabited by] big debil debils..."⁸¹ A number of European writers were affected by the stillness and the mystery of the lakes including Xavier Herbert who described one of the lakes with its encircling rim of rainforest reflected in the water as "...eerie, secret, sacred-seeming, as if the very Spirit of the land lurks in its depthlessness..."⁸² (see Figure 5.2)

The area around Lake Eacham was particularly susceptible to Romantic reimaginings of the landscape. (see Figure 5.3) By the 1930s a portion of the Lake's access road was known as the 'Appian Way,' apparently dubbed thus following the visit of the Australian Provincial Press Association Delegates in the late 1920s.⁸³ (see Figure 5.4) One writer declared of this road "...one would certainly have to be dead to every beauty in Nature not to want to traverse this route again and again..."⁸⁴ Within a short

⁸¹ 'Tramp,' "In Days of Old: North Queensland Scrublands, Atherton," *C&C*, March 1937, vol. 5, no. 119, p. 51.

⁸² X. Herbert, cited by E. Toohey, *From Bullock Team to Puffing Billy: the settling of the Atherton Tableland and its hinterland*, (Rockhampton, 2001), p. 42.

⁸³ *A Cordial Welcome*, p. 25.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* One would assume that they were alluding to the Roman highway running south-east from Rome to Brundisium, the construction of which was initiated by the censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C. J. Coulson, C.T. Carr, L. Hutchinson & D. Eagle (Eds), *The Oxford Illustrated Dictionary*, (London, 1981), p. 33.



Figure 5.1: 'Amazing natural phenomena abound – although some aren't quite as amazing as they were...' (Cairns: *Fun in the Sun*, 1971)

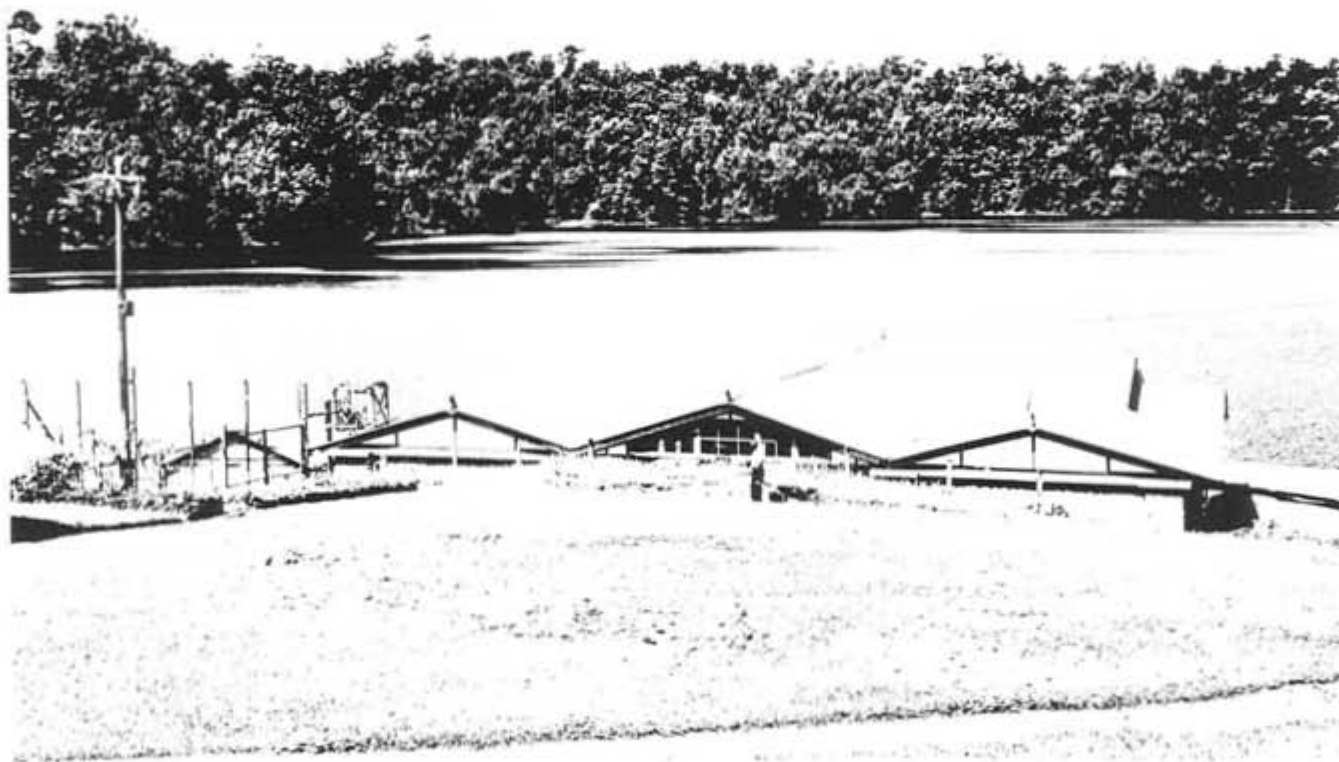


Figure 5.2: Lake Barrine, circa 1930s. (FSTY NP351, Lake Barrine, in QS 189/1; National Parks, 1898 – 1989, item 19, QSA)



Figure 5.3: Map of Lake Eacham showing natural attractions and kiosk. (Parish of East Barron, Department of Public Lands, Brisbane, January 1937)



Figure 5.4: 'Appian Way' to Lake Eacham. (*Queenslander*, 19 September 1929, p. 38)

walking distance of the Lake Eacham Kiosk was the 'Wishing Pool' and a little further on Vision Falls and Goddard Falls. (see Figures 5.5 to 5.6)

Unfamiliar rainforest landscapes could stimulate the imagination, conjuring up Romantic architecture for the vegetation, such as grottoes, cathedrals and chambers amidst giant strangler figs,⁸⁵ reimaginings which both Romanticised and domesticated the rainforest: that is, made it less threatening. A visitor to the Cathedral Fig near Yungaburra in 1930 imagined the inside of the tree thus:

...from the outside there was nothing suggestive of cathedral architecture about it. Climbing down through a small opening in one side, I found myself in an immense chamber at least 12 feet in diameter, and almost circular, in which I saw much reminiscent of a cathedral...⁸⁶

Occasionally other parallels were drawn with gothic architecture, with Vision Falls near Lake Eacham reminding one commentator "...forcibly of the delicate tracery of some old gothic cathedral..."⁸⁷ (see Figure 5.6)

Gothic cathedrals could also be seen in the Barron Falls:

...to the reverent [the Falls] has the effect of some vast cathedral. Sitting amid the thunderous bass roar of its waters, cut off from the outer world of work and care by its tranquilising sounds, and watching green-hued, ethereal-looking swallows and enormously big blue butterflies winging and darting their way over and through the sun-lit foam and mist, the 'pulpit' gradually becomes transformed into a Throne, and the Throne into a Presence –
'pavilioned in splendour,
and girded with praise' ...⁸⁸

It was, however, the Chillagoe Caves and the limestone bluffs in that area which tended to elicit the most remarkable imagery and feelings, some of which rivaled

⁸⁵ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, pp. 277 – 278.

⁸⁶ *A Cordial Welcome*, p. 31.

⁸⁷ D. Tilghman, *The Queen State, 1933*, (Brisbane, 1933), p. 131.

⁸⁸ G. Terry, *Unknown North Queensland: a trip to Cairns: descriptive sketches and appreciations with a study of the racial problem on the spot*, (Victoria, 1933), p. 29.



Figure 5.5: The Wishing Pool, Lake Eacham, circa 1930s. (FSTY NP128. QS 189/1: National Parks, 1898 – 1989, item 19, QSA)



Figure 5.6: Vision Falls near Lake Eacham, circa 1930. (*A Cordial Welcome*, p. 26)

Meston's descriptions of the Barron Falls. In 1893 a 'special correspondent' for the *Cairns Argus* evoked creatures of the dark in his description of the Chillagoe Caves but does not appear to have experienced the extreme emotions often associated with sublime imagery. Reminiscent of *Arabian Nights* he described the treasures of the caves:

...By a weird, dim and prismatic daylight you will see walls studded with diamonds, fairy couches hung with white drapery, tiny grottoes adorned with mimic icicles, and grand cathedral arches of mighty dimensions decked with befitting ornamentations. Here we see a pulpit, there an organ loft and carved pillars that remind us of the ruins of some sacred pile. 'Tis most like dreamland, for crystals sparkle at every turn, and every niche is covered with a net of beautiful frosted filigree...⁸⁹

Curiosity was evoked in some who travelled specifically to Chillagoe to gaze at one of 'Nature's wonders.' In 1893, Donald Thistlethwayte, civil engineer and amateur artist, travelled from Brisbane to holiday in Chillagoe. He was clearly moved by what he saw:

... Stalactites, stalagmites, drapes, and many other fantastic forms, all are here: but most beautiful of all perhaps are certain recesses in the walls, one above the other, forming grottoes as it were, with the most delicate tracery of stalactites... resembling ... tasseled canopies or petrified cascades...⁹⁰

The writing of E.J. Brady captures the essence of Romantic fascination with the supernatural particularly regarding Chillagoe which appears to have evoked powerful emotions in him. Brady, unusually for this era, appears to be fascinated by the extreme nature of his feelings when experiencing a 'sublime' situation and features as the central figure in the retelling:

... A recklessness entered into my blood. Mayhap I was infected by a virus of imagination. Perhaps it was the result of travelling all day through enchanted hills where weird Spirits guard unknown treasures, a land pregnant with Fortune still unborn. For a while I forgot the years, convenances, discretions, all those little lianas that bind the forests of experience together...

⁸⁹ 'Special Correspondent,' "The Caves of Chillagoe: more beauties," *Cairns Argus*, 22 July 1893.

⁹⁰ 'The Chillagoe Caves,' *Queenslander*, 2 December 1893, p. 1080.

I tell you again it is a Land of Witchery, accessible by a Road of Enchantment only...⁹¹

Other adventurous travellers attributed their feelings to the magnificence of nature and were experiencing today what we would call an adrenalin rush. An early adventurous pursuit was descending the Barron Falls. In 1895 a party of ladies climbed down 500 feet and their guide continued another 200 feet to the base of the Falls. The party considered that:

...the difficulties and dangers of the descent were well rewarded by the many pleasant and exciting sensations caused by being surrounded and brought into such immediate contact with, and realisation of the immense mass of grandeur and magnificence of this now favoured spot...⁹²

The limestone bluffs in the Chillagoe area attracted comment from the 1890s and many writers were reminded of ruined medieval castles, as well as camels, elephants, motor lorries, dingoes and swans.⁹³ Medieval ruins appealed to Romantics due to their suggestion of antiquity and satisfied a colonial yearning for a familiar past.⁹⁴ The fantastic shapes were noted frequently⁹⁵ with E.J. Banfield describing them in 1907 as "... amazing, bewildering, incomprehensible – too lovely for prose, too bizarre for poetry..." This response to Chillagoe's limestone bluffs continued into the 1930s with a reporter writing a series for the *Queenslander* expressing bewilderment with what he experienced:

... I felt that I had arrived in a new land, a country that bore little resemblance to anything that I have so far seen of Queensland. The place appeared at once to be both weird and wonderful... my love of the unusual would, if I were advertising the beauties of Queensland, compel me to emphasise the

⁹¹ E.J. Brady, *The Land of the Sun*, pp.167 - 171.

⁹² The party consisted on Misses Warner, Hannam, and G. Allen, under the guidance of Mr. C. Wood. *Cairns Argus*, 12 January 1895.

⁹³ J. Killoran & Goodwin, "North Queensland Beauty: Mungana Caves," *C&C*, December 1927, vol. 3, no. 9, p. 22.

⁹⁴ T. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, pp. 152 – 153.

⁹⁵ Examples include: QGTB, *North Queensland: Australia's richest territory: fertile land and beauty spots*, (Brisbane 1928), p. 41; QGTB, *North Queensland: the cream of the continent*, (Brisbane, 1935), p. 30; & 'Tramp,' "Chillagoe Caves," *C&C*, May 1931, vol. 5, no. 49, p. 25.

wonderful bluffs – indescribably wonderful as they tower against the sky from the one-time ocean bed. .. they appear as ruined monuments of a bygone age, grey sandstone [sic] monuments...⁹⁶
 Davidson and Spearitt suggest that early fascination with caves was not only due to Romantic impulses but they added "...a notable feature to what was perceived to be a rather undifferentiated landscape, something at last to show the visitor..."⁹⁷

Interestingly the Great Barrier Reef was not greatly subjected to the Romantic gaze until the 1930s. This was probably due to the difficulty in accessing the reef and its islands prior to this time and as already noted, the time constraints imposed on travellers to the region by shipping companies.⁹⁸ Only two Romantic descriptions of the reef, descriptions of the voyage to Cairns aside, have been located in tourist guides. Randolph Bedford contributed an elaborate description of the vividly coloured coral and fish,⁹⁹ and another has a hint of the exotic tropics in his description of Green Island:

... sample of tropic loveliness. Coconuts grow in profusion. Sea-bathing, fishing, examining the marvels of the reefs and gathering specimens, occupy an absorbing day...¹⁰⁰

The 'discovery' of the reef by the tourist guide authors evoked, in at least one, images of atolls, reefs and tropical waters as the basis of seafarer's tales, a 'boy's own' adventure.

... Where are we bound for, skipper – where's the old hooker bound for now? To Thirsty Sound or Bramble Cay, Man and Wife or the Percy Isles, Trinity, Tribulation or Torres Strait? Well, what does it matter – what matter so long as we're outward bound! Beating out for Coral Seas – and adventure, romance... big game fishing in the Bunkers, coral gardens, tropic sunsets, and the boom of the mighty surf on

⁹⁶ "Caravan Tales: along the tourist track in North Queensland with our journalist photographer: Chillagoe," *Queenslander*, 6 February 1930, p. 4 & 13 February 1930, p. 4.

⁹⁷ J. Davidson & P. Spearitt, *Holiday Business*, p. 8.

⁹⁸ As noted earlier, scheduled trips to Green Island were not implemented until 1930 when they ran twice weekly during the tourist season. Daily trips were not introduced until the 1960s.

⁹⁹ *Australia for the Tourist*, circa 1920s, no publishing details, pp. 108 – 112.

¹⁰⁰ QGTB, *North Queensland: the holiday land*, p. 11.

the Outer Barrier weaving the spell of Lorelei... Aye, we'll go once more a-roving. Once more we'll rove the Barrier Seas. Following in the wake of the early mariners and traders, ever on the alert for treacherous reefs and shoals; exploring little-known isles and uncharted places; nosing into long pine-forested inlets like fiords; lazing on some lonely coral strand marveling at the beauty of chameleon seas turning to blood-red and then to opal as the setting sun flees before the evening star. It's all wonderful, strangely exciting...¹⁰¹

Occasionally a visit to the Reef produced feelings of awe:

... I can conceive of no beauty more wondrous, nor more awe inspiring, than those submarine gulfs and grottoes of the coral strewn waters of the Pacific. Perhaps if I knew the Polar ice fields in winter, or a still moonlit night in the Himalayas, I might be able to draw a better comparison; but my mind being what it is, I can conceive of nothing in this world possessing a more sublime, unearthly or terrifying splendour that what is commonly called a coral garden...¹⁰²

I

n the late 1940s an American soldier in Australia described his experience of the Reef:

... [the reef is] a sort of beautiful lace edge on the eastern coast of Australia. I knew very little about it before I left the States and Aussie publicity being what it is, which is practically nothing, I hadn't heard much more and so was nearly knocked cock-eyed when one morning I awoke and found the ship in calm water and an earthly Paradise...¹⁰³

The portrayal of the Great Barrier Reef as a unique playground was a common theme in much of the tourism literature. The idea that it had something for everyone showed little regard for the tensions between the various activities and ideologies:

... the Great Barrier Reef is a wonderland for the naturalist, the sightseer and the sportsman. Included in its features are submarine coral gardens and extensive rocky areas, which come and go with the tides. Then there are

¹⁰¹ C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 240. Christesen also wrote *North Coast: selected verse*, (Brisbane, undated), in which a poem titled "Reef Song" referred specifically to the reef and seas of the Barrier.

¹⁰² R. Bellamy, "In Coral Seas," *C&C*, August 1933, vol. 5, no. 76, p. 5.

¹⁰³ 'Master Sarge,' *A Yank Discovers Australia*, (Sydney, circa late 1940s), p. 66.

sandy islands, where bird life swarms, and the whole length of the formation contains the finest fishing grounds in the world – really an immense aquarium... The reefs when exposed by the ebb of tide have been described as a great mosaic of gleaming shades of heliotrope, gold russet, silver, crimson, purple and green, merging into each other to form bewildering views. Everything that moves in the pools or flies through the air seems to have a touch of the same vivid colouring. The sunsets of the Barrier are a rapture that cannot be forgotten... The Great Barrier Reef forms the sportsman's heaven. There are king fish, parrot fish, barramundi, bream, schnapper, rock cod, mackerel, grunter, trevally, perch, groper, and tiger sharks... And just fancy! One thousand miles of turtles... turtle riding is a favourite sport amongst the ladies, especially in the presence of camera men...¹⁰⁴

Most commentators drew upon familiar images to explain and describe that which they had not experienced before. Thomas Wood in 1934 had difficulty in describing the beauty and the colour of the coral reef and fish:

... Truth, here, must be served by comparing the unknown with the known: by asking you to see a rock garden in spring, and a forest of trees, some nearly full-grown in the crown, others small enough for dwarfs to play under – branched, or blossoming, or trailing delicate tendrils; or changing inexplicably to antlers, and clumps of heather, and giant toadstools, and those patterned symmetries the snowflakes make, magnified. All this, sea-warm and living; yours to marvel at, or to walk among, cautiously, or to gaze down upon through a glass box, as you drift, oars shipped, over a transparency which has the clarity of air. The colours are those of all flowers, softened; and of autumn and the moors – cool greens and browns, delicate pinks, russet and primrose and amber, cinnamon, powder-blue. Rich, glowing, at times, a surprise at others, when clustered lavender spikes end in orange tips, or slate-grey bushes change half-way to fawn; but there is no gypsy daring, no prismatic brilliance. The fish give this...¹⁰⁵

The most elaborate prose was saved for Dunk Island. Edmund Banfield's life story caught the imagination of many.¹⁰⁶ To supplement his lifestyle Banfield compiled and wrote a tourist guide, contributed to newspapers and journals using the pen name of 'Rob Krusoe' and wrote *Confessions of a Beachcomber* and *My Tropic Isle* in

¹⁰⁴ 'Viator,' "The Great Barrier Reef: one of the world's greatest wonders," *C&C*, February 1936, vol. 5, no. 106, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ T. Wood, *Cobbers*, pp. 228 – 229.

¹⁰⁶ Banfield and his wife Bertha moved to Dunk Island in 1897, initially living in tents. They leased a small area of the island for a period of 30 years at an annual rent of 2/6 per acre. They later secured a larger freehold block. D. Stranger, *Queensland Islands*, pp. 139 – 144.

which he shared the secrets of nature he had discovered, the legends and customs of the local Aborigines, and his experiences on the island.¹⁰⁷ Although Banfield wrote mostly about nature he attracted a number of Romantics to his island who were searching for their own 'earthly paradise.' J.W. Frings for example left England during the 1920s to recover his health and communicated with Banfield after reading his works. He spent six weeks on Dunk Island with the Banfields before departing to find his own 'Pacific Paradise' at nearby Brisk Island.¹⁰⁸ Hugo Brassey and his wife Baroness von Bodenhausen bought Dunk Island in 1935 with plans to develop it as a tourist resort in order to capitalise on Banfield's legacy.

Other authors and artists drawn to the island include Charles Barrett during the 1920s who shared Banfield's fascination with it, particularly the Swiftlets Cave and 'Falling Star Cave'¹⁰⁹ and Thomas Wood in 1934 who was entranced by the luxurious plant growth, the vivid green of the island's hills and the clarity of the water in 'lotus land.'¹¹⁰ Jean Devanny visited in 1944 and lamented the vulgarising of the island since Banfield's death in 1923. She was scathing of what she considered the development of slums near the island's jetty, describing them as "... filthy bag and iron humpies thrown together beneath a splendid grove of coastal casuarinas..."¹¹¹ Frank Clune also visited during the 1940s and having read Banfield's books had expected to find tales of "... gin swizzling, Hula girls, going native; or else pirates in

¹⁰⁷ D. Heenan, *Dunk Island and Beaver Cay*, pp. 21 – 22. In his tourist guide *Within the Barrier: Tourists' guide to the North Queensland Coast*, Banfield made little mention of the scenic beauties and tourism potential of Dunk Island.

¹⁰⁸ J. W. Frings, *My Island of Dreams*, pp. 7 – 12. Frings was unable to sustain constant island living and on occasion yielded to the lure of gold and tin mining, of "... delv[ing]... in Mother Earth for the fortune she usually contrives to conceal so well..." *Ibid.*, pp. 278 – 279.

¹⁰⁹ These caves are located on Purtaboi Island adjacent to Dunk Island. Their location was kept a secret from most by Banfield during his lifetime. C. Barrett, *The Sunlit Land*, pp. 249 – 250.

¹¹⁰ T. Wood, *Cobbers*, pp. 225 – 227.

¹¹¹ J. Devanny, *By Tropic Sea and Jungle: adventures in North Queensland*, (Sydney, 1944), p. 32.

Devon placing beacons on the wrong headlands...¹¹² and found instead a nature lover's delight. Lock in 1951 too was captivated by the island's beauty and interestingly linked it to the British Empire:

... the British Empire means an island off the North Queensland coast, discovered by Captain Cook in 1770; a place where natural beauty is unrivalled; where timbered earth and coralline sea meet, and merge into one, like different coloured materials of an exquisite oil painting...¹¹³

The fairy world

Most diametrically opposed to the utilitarian 'way of seeing' was the tendency to see fairies in the landscape. Fairies enjoy a long tradition in Western culture but they were not always the benign creatures that they are today. Fairies of the ancient world were concerned with birth, death and copulation. They were things to be feared; they snatched babies and men, they were seductresses with parts of their bodies missing, they gave fortune on one hand and misery on the other, and invariably they were part of the 'other' world, the dark world, of the supernatural.¹¹⁴ They were magical, and were often thieves and demonic in their behaviour.

The fairy changed during the Victorian era. It became a less complex creature, not concerned with the darker sides of life. This was not a sudden metamorphosis as its form had been changing over time. In Elizabethan and Jacobean times a tiny, cute and sometimes freakish fairy had appeared.¹¹⁵ This type of fairy was cloaked with folk custom, superstition and pagan ritual. It was popularised by the pen of Shakespeare, Chaucer, Swift and Marlowe during the 16th century. Shakespeare in

¹¹² F. Clune, *Free and Easy*, p. 214.

¹¹³ A.C.C. Lock, *People we Met*, p. 355. This is surprising given that Banfield's books are the descriptions of a naturalist rather than exciting tales of the South Seas along the lines of R.L. Stevenson.

¹¹⁴ D. Purkiss, *At the bottom of the Garden: a dark history of fairies, hobgoblins, and other troublesome things*, (New York, 2000), pp. 12 & 212.

¹¹⁵ The Jacobean in particular loved the miniature. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

particular was influential in rehabilitating the fairy from a pagan creature of the dark, to a playful creature that was a sign of the 'good old days,' a simpler past.¹¹⁶ Under the conservative influence of Victorian England, fairies changed from Shakespeare's mischievous sprites to rather vapid and moral creatures.

Fairytales became a controversial part of a social mechanism to criticise the Industrial Revolution and were embedded in the 'Condition of England Debate' during the late 18th century.¹¹⁷ At the same time attitudes toward children were changing and fairy tales were increasingly seen as a legitimate form of amusement for children. The Romantic notion of children as innocent was adopted by the Victorians who linked the innocent child with fairies. There was a reversion towards the end of the 19th century to the idea of the bad fairy.

English fairies had become mostly associated with the wilderness by the 18th century. They are found under natural things: the ground, mountains, lakes and hills, and in Scotland and Ireland, under Neolithic graves.¹¹⁸ The fairies of the 18th century were considered acceptable to Victorian thinkers such as John Ruskin if they remained in the countryside. The publication of the Brothers Grimm's fairy tales in 1818 confirmed the countryside as the realm of the fairy.¹¹⁹ From being one explanation of chaos and mayhem fairies were now a theatrical device for entertainment, even a commodity. Fairies became misty figures to produce the illusion that they had stepped out of the trees and flowers which were their natural abode.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹¹⁷ J. Zipes (Ed), *Victorian Fairy Tales: the revolt of the fairies and elves*, (London, 1987), p. xv.

¹¹⁸ D. Purkiss, *At the Bottom of the Garden*, p. 204.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

Australia too had fairies. According to Paul Carter lurking within the Australian landscape is a kind of 'native spirit' – the fairy.¹²⁰ While this Romanticising of the landscape follows the tradition of English poets and suggested the "...presence of mindful creators..."¹²¹ it also helped European travellers to assimilate the landscape. Fairy scenes were represented in early descriptions of Far North Queensland's rainforest, waterfalls and lakes but these 20th century Australian fairies lacked the resonance of their earlier English counterparts. They did however serve to stimulate the imagination in the style of the Romantic genre in travel literature as late as the 1930s. Fairies appear to have existed in some parts of the Atherton Tableland prior to the large scale settlement activities carried out after 1900. Their presence is made apparent by Victor Kennedy's poem written about Lake Barrine during the late 1920s:

... In the gloom or colour of evenfall
they rise from silver and sheen –
the mystic, mythical, magical
wraiths that story Barrine...¹²²

In the 1930s Clem Christesen alluding to Kennedy's experience of Lake Barrine, lamented "...alas, the unromantic scientist has dissipated the mystic veil which for so long hung over Eacham and Barrine!"¹²³ He concedes however that "... these Lakes of Enchantment are sufficiently alluring without the aid of mysterious legends and 'travellers' tales,' picturesque and Romantic though they be..."¹²⁴

'Fairyland Tea Gardens' near Kuranda is the most obvious example in the Cairns region of the Romantic conflation of nature and the supernatural. An anonymous advertising jingle used in the promotional literature of the Gardens plays on this:

¹²⁰ P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: an essay in spatial history*, (London, 1987), p. 251.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Victor Kennedy, cited by C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 227.

¹²³ C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 227.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227 – 228.

...Down by the winding river,
safe in jungle's shade,
we wend our way in rapture
at wonders God has made.

Rich green and gold and amber
in tropic's foliage shed,
call forth our admiration –
here fairies must have sped.

The narrow track and rippling creek,
oft touched by phantom feet,
fascinate and attract us
to Fairyland so sweet.

Where, sheltered in the shadow
of tall trees welcome shade,
we suddenly discover
a Tea House in a glade.

Wrought out of Nature's fabric,
the chairs and tables tell
of ingenuity, and
artists tastes as well.

Fairies may feast on dew drops,
but we of flesh and blood,
soon happily luxuriate
in tea and sandwich good.

The garden gay, and Fairy Dell,
where ferns and palms abound,
add much to charm of Fairyland,
our pleasant trysting ground.

When back across the river
we row in happy mood,
Fairyland's little outing,
by all is voted good...¹²⁵

The theme is taken further in a 1930s travel book:

... we cross in a fairy barque [to 'Fairyland tea gardens']... The boat glides into the landing bank overshadowed by vine-clad trees. Penetrating the filmy veil of greenness, we plunge into forest glades and dim jungle paths of half transparent malachite. 'Let your song be delicate,' for here is heard the madrigals of a hundred feathered choristers... in and out among the dense

¹²⁵ Anon., "Fairyland," in *Beautiful Fairyland via Kuranda, North Queensland*, 1935.

wilderness and evanescent depths, flit tropic birds – ‘dear wee pixies of the dancing leaves.’ ... wandering on, the path descends to Fairy Glen, a charming little spot by a bubbling stream besieged by maidenhair, flowering vines, plantains, and numerous varieties of tree-ferns. So eventually to the river’s edge, seeing on every leaf a ‘glory caught from a woman’s hair,’ and across the stream which sings its Orphic song before plunging with suicidal scream over the gigantic lip of polished rock...¹²⁶

A description of ‘Fairyland’ written in 1943 adds religious imagery, a genre seen more often prior to 1900 in travel writing:

...[‘Fairyland’ is] a forest of exquisite beauty [containing] tiny pale faced flowers, the eternal symbol of purity ... The gentle breeze among the trees sang as softly as harps... I doubt if anyone can enter such a sanctuary of Nature and not feel nearer the spirit and essence of the Almighty, to me it was an inspiration and I prayed that I might interpret it aright...¹²⁷

Not everyone saw the possibility of fairies in ‘Fairyland.’ Margaret Clow failed to experience the magic of ‘Fairyland Tea Gardens,’ a fledgling tourist attraction in 1914 when she visited. Instead she focused on the size of trees and their spreading habits. She recognises the wee folk in a spirit more of irony when beginning to feel “...a desire for tea... [the party is led] into the Fairies Bower, where the little people have magnanimously provided rustic seats and a rustic table for those human beings who invade their dainty arbour...”¹²⁸

Fairies were also found away from the rainforest, waterfalls and lakes, in the Chillagoe Caves. Despite the ‘weird’ and ‘eerie’ setting these fairies too were benign creatures:

... don’t be timid fair reader... you will find ‘tis not a dissertation on Clement’s Tonic, Wolfe’s Schnapps or in fact any of that genus. Neither are we going to sing in Mestonian terms the beauties of Boondamahlan or Noga, beg pardon we mean the Barron Falls and its rugged gorge... these are

¹²⁶ C. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 225.

¹²⁷ G. McLean, *On Earth as it is: wanderings amid wonder and beauty*, 1943, no publishing details, pp. 17 – 18.

¹²⁸ M. Clow, *How I Spent a Fortnight*, p. 29.

beauties the world already knows of; those you have seen, so we wish to take you now along another track... to a goal where you will find beauties of another order, more rare, more unique, and therefore more refreshing to the senses. Not indeed to a Paradise do we lead, no park, as this word implies, but rather to the borders of the nether world, where darkness and dim twilight reign supreme. Yet withal to a very fairyland of beauties, beauties that you would revel in, linger and loathe to leave – beauties that would remind you of your earliest dreams, of pixies, hob-goblins and fairy queens, you will see them in the eye of imagination once more, coming from out the dark nowhere and tripping from rock to rock... The fairies themselves, in such surroundings would not surprise, and if you do not see them you shall indeed see their steeds, for does not Ariel sing in 'The Tempest':

On the bat's back I do fly,
after summer merrily.

And since there are bats in plenty to ride the imagination has only to supply the riders...¹²⁹

Perhaps as a result of the extensive clearing and cultivation of the rainforest in the Cairns region fairies began to move to the islands off the coast of Cairns by the 1930s:

...the Great Barrier Reef is one of the greatest marvels of any age and any country according to travellers and scientists... sport incomparable is to be had on the Barrier – fishing, turtle riding, spearing eels and parrot fish, shark baiting; swimming in tonic waters; camping out in the glorious climate amidst scenes of rare beauty; nature study that has made aged scientists declare that the Barrier gave them back their long lost youth; boating trips amongst the fairy islands and lagoons...¹³⁰

The manner in which they were seen to inhabit areas which were increasingly encroached upon by human activities would account for their disappearance from this landscape shortly after.

Certainly the fairies did not dwell amongst the islands for long and their demise was laid at the feet of tourists to the reef by at least one commentator in poetry:

...Here tourists come from far away;
with clacking tongues and prying eyes.
They stare through water-glasses on
the seagods' private paradise.

And on its flanks hang fishermen,
a hardy, dour and weathered band.

¹²⁹ 'Special Correspondent,' "The Caves of Chillagoe: more beauties," *Cairns Argus*, 22 July 1893.

¹³⁰ QGTB, *The Sunshine Route: Queensland's tour and travel annual*, p. 6.

That dangle hooks in opal lanes,
and, chewing, spit in fairyland.

Those come to gape and gather stuff
to clutter dreary drawing rooms:
and these to feed with rainbow fish
the wolf that on their skyline looms.

But, once a million years, or so,
a poet comes to feel, to pray,
to take – though not with vandal hands –
the soul of fairyland away...¹³¹

The demise of the fairies on the reef coincided in the increasing interest in the reef from tourists, scientists and others. It also coincided with a fundamental change in how the rainforest and the Reef were perceived and described. The scientific paradigm was overtaking the Romantic in the portrayal of attractions such as the Great Barrier Reef. There was no longer any room in popular literature and perception for the magical fairy.

The picturesque

A concept related to Romanticism in the 19th century was the 'picturesque.' Today 'picturesque' merely refers to something that is considered pretty. This has not always been the case. Since the early 18th century it is a word and an idea that has attracted considerable debate. In Britain at the beginning of the 18th century the meaning of the picturesque was both limited and literal. It referred to 'subjects suitable for painting.'¹³² The meaning of the picturesque began to change and expand as the term was applied more frequently to scenery. By the early 19th century it had been debated to such an extent that it no longer had a precise meaning. The

¹³¹ Annon., "The Great Barrier Reef," *C&C*, July 1937, vol. 5, no. 124, p. 45.

¹³² T. Hughes – d'Aeth, *Paper Nation*, p. 45.

picturesque, despite changing ideas of what was considered aesthetically pleasing, remained a popular 'way of seeing' the landscape.¹³³

By the time Europeans arrived in Australia 'picturesque tours' as popularised by William Gilpin were well established in Britain. According to Hughes-d'Aeth, these tours:

... provided the conceptual machinery for tourism. It gave tourists a specific purpose, a rationale, a plan of action, a reward system and, most important of all, it provided them with a language to order and convey their experience...¹³⁴

Gilpin saw the picturesque as something that could not be created but must be sought out. It was a form of quest, something to be enjoyed and captured either pictorially or through description.¹³⁵ Gilpin's idea of the picturesque prevailed in the early travel literature of late 18th and early 19th century Australia largely because of the user-friendly nature of the concept. It required only knowledge of the language of the picturesque. Deeper historical or scientific understanding of a particular destination was not required for a picturesque experience.¹³⁶

The picturesque for many early travellers in Australia according to Ken Taylor was the search for a 'future ideal in a new Garden of Eden' whereby:

...the representations of the picturesque were part of the imaginative occupation of the landscape prior to the physical occupation...it was the manifest destiny of European settlers to turn awaiting nature into an Eden, a

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51. William Gilpin (1724 – 1804) was an English clergyman, writer and artist. He was the leader of the 18th century picturesque movement and the author of works on the scenery of Britain, illustrated by his own aqua-tint engravings. M. Magnusson (Ed), *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 590. Gilpin published accounts of a series of tours between 1782 and 1809: to the Wye Valley, to the Cumberland Lakes and Westmoreland Lakes, and to the Scottish Highlands. T. Hughes – d'Aeth, *Paper Nation*, p. 51.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53. Commentators such as Caroline Jordan draw our attention to the difficulties faced by early settlers in transplanting the picturesque to the Australian colonies: many found features of the bush and the physical and psychological trials of settlement not easily sublimated into a picturesque aesthetic framework. C. Jordan, *Picturesque Pursuits*, p. 158.

pastoral Arcadia. So people saw what they wanted to see. Representations of an Arcadian ideal resulted from a state of mind where memory and allusion played primary roles...¹³⁷

Paul Carter sees that Australian travellers used the notion of the picturesque in a different manner to those in England and Europe. Utilising the expedition diaries of Sturt and Mitchell, and poetry and other descriptions by early settlers, he sees that it was a quality applied to two very different types of landscape: "... to [the] 'grassy meadow' and extensive 'plains' [and to] regions of 'lofty mountains,' 'impervious thickets' and winding streams..."¹³⁸ He sees this apparent contradiction as being due to the double aspect of travelling: Australians were travellers and explorers, travellers and scientists, travellers and settlers, travellers and investors, and / or travellers and potential farmers or miners.¹³⁹ There was tension between these roles as travellers searched for what they wanted in the landscape. A traveller searching for a home site may view a forest as melancholic and dreary as it appears uninhabitable, whereas the traveller with an interest in natural science would extol its fertility and abundance. A traveller who was an explorer was defining directions, establishing landmarks and tracks in the vast space, while a surveyor wanted to regionalise the space being travelled through. Journeys in this context were in one direction only as the exploratory nature of their journeys meant that directions had not yet been established, spatial relationships between permanent features were yet to be created, and lookouts, the realm of the tourist, had still to be found.¹⁴⁰ Differences in the language employed by different types of early traveller are important. Explorers tended to frame what they saw in picturesque discourse thereby promoting the opening up of

¹³⁷ Ken Taylor, cited by M. Mulligan & S. Hill, *Ecological Pioneers*, p. 44.

¹³⁸ P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 232.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁴⁰ P. Carter, "Invisible Journeys: exploration and photography in Australia, 1839 – 1889," in P. Foss (Ed), *Islands in the Stream: myths of place in Australian culture*, (N.S.W., 1988), p. 51.

the country for settlement whereas botanists, surveyors and other scientists described the landscape in scientific terms.¹⁴¹ Governments could rationalise their 'settlement' activities using the notion of the picturesque by ensuring:

...that the illusion of a 'natural place' was maintained thereby modifying, humanising or rewriting the 'wilderness,' and within the framework of settlement authorising the settlers 'place' in the environment...¹⁴²

The flexibility of what could be considered picturesque was such that by the end of the 19th century almost anything could be included: wild nature, agricultural, rural, and urban scenes, indigenous people, and the exotic and the unusual. By the end of the 19th century the picturesque, utilising Gilpin's style, became a political tool for colonial governments in that while Gilpin and others searched for timelessness, the colonial artists were dispatched to provide evidence of the emergence of a civilised society.¹⁴³ Wallace-Crabbe sees that the 'wilderness' actually provided a conceptual refuge from the picturesque¹⁴⁴ and the British concept of 'picturesque' was challenged by the likes of Henry Lawson and Frederick McCubbin whose work depicted and influenced the emerging Australian 'way of seeing' the landscape. Wallace-Crabbe ironically notes that it is the picturesque which saved us from imperial efforts to transplant an English society to Australia. He sees that the wilderness provided a conceptual refuge which was expressed through the emergence of the national parks and the influence of the 'bush' in the Australian psyche.¹⁴⁵

Capitalising on the wilderness was largely a matter of necessity on the part of early European travellers and settlers due to Australia's lack of monuments and the

¹⁴¹ G. Seddon, *Landprints*, p. 40.

¹⁴² P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 250.

¹⁴³ T. Hughes-d'Aeth, *Paper Nation*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁴ C. Wallace-Crabbe, "The Escaping Landscape," in J. Carroll (Ed), *Intruders in the Bush: the Australian quest for identity*, (Melbourne, 1992), p. 159.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.158.

perception that the landscape lacked history and culture. This lack was a point laboured, and almost apologised for, in some of the early tourist guides:

... Australia is too young to have a memory. In Australia there are as yet 'No strange enchantments of the past, and memories of the Days of Old.' Though geologically of great age, little more than a century measures its years of settlement, civilisation and development. Its life is based on magnificent hopes in a glorious future. It is Australia's youth, its very newness which appeals to the imagination. The peculiar and unique characteristics of its 'want of age' give it a decided and distinct individuality... The truth is all that need to be told. It will not be said that Australia possesses even one outstanding scenic feature of such colossal grandeur or transcendent beauty as to call for extravagant superlatives of description or that mocks Creation for a parallel. But in her scenery there is something unique and much for the eye and mind to delight in. It is certainly a favoured country ...¹⁴⁶

The secular landscape however with its unusual rocks, mountains and vegetation appealed to Romantic tastes.¹⁴⁷ The landscape of the Cairns region satisfied this Romantic yearning with one visitor to the Barron Gorge commenting:

... About it all there is a strong accent of the prehistoric. Geology vaguely sets its time limits, and scant knowledge still asks, 'How Old?' But –
 We ask not of the sunlight,
 nor of the wind, 'How Old?'
 The legend on the talent's face
 dates not the unchanging gold...¹⁴⁸

It was in this new, diverse and modern phase of the portrayal of the picturesque that Australia and Cairns and its hinterland were 'discovered.'

Oriental and exotic perceptions of Cairns and its hinterland

Part of the Romantic was its love of the exotic. The mysterious and exotic Orient loomed large in the Western mind. Edward Said argues that:

...the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, and remarkable experiences...¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ *Australia For the Tourist*, pp. 8 & 10.

¹⁴⁷ T. Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, p. 152.

¹⁴⁸ *Beauty's Home and Fortune's Fairest Field, North Queensland*, circa 1920s, no publishing details, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ E. Said, cited by L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place*, p. 138

Said's view is certainly borne out in particularly E.J. Brady's account, discussed below, of the similarities between the landscapes of Cairns and Asia. For some travellers, a tropical location such as Cairns and its hinterland was a place which seemed unreal, thereby stimulating the imagination and allowing them to fantasise.¹⁵⁰ Cairns due to its geographical location was admirably suited to the application of such re-imagining and imagery. It appears that the Eastern and exotic aspects of the region were not described on their own terms without the application or appropriation of symbols from other cultures.

Generally the Oriental mythology attached to Cairns in tourism literature was of a positive nature, commenting upon its similarities to Eastern landscape, vegetation and climate as opposed to the negative mythology highlighting Eastern decadence, sexuality and barbarism.¹⁵¹ While non Europeans were often portrayed reasonably positively in the local press,¹⁵² references to 'chinks' and 'Japs' aside, they were represented quite differently in southern newspapers with the most frequent comment being that "...Cairns was the place where white men lifted their hats to Chinamen and ... prominent townsmen dined with the Chows and slept with the Japs ..."¹⁵³

It is important to note, however, that Oriental and other imagery attached to the landscape of the region did have some basis in reality. By 1883 the Chinese population in Cairns had trebled and they had established a township of their own,

¹⁵⁰ V. Savage, *Western Impressions of Nature*, p. 277.

¹⁵¹ L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place*, pp. 138 – 139.

¹⁵² May's survey of all newspapers in Cairns, Innisfail, Mossman, Port Douglas, Herberton and Atherton found that attitudes towards the Chinese were overwhelmingly positive. She found only four derogatory statements based on racial theory for the period 1870 to 1920. H. Reynolds, *North of Capricorn: the untold story of Australia's north*, (Sydney, 2003), p. 174.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

Chinatown, with a population of 700, and two temples.¹⁵⁴ Another 'exotic' locale in Cairns was Malaytown. Located on the banks of Alligator Creek, it took its name and began to develop at the end of the 19th century, when a group of Malay people who had been brought to Cairns to work in the sugar cane fields, built makeshift houses out of mangrove wood on the mudflats of Alligator Creek.¹⁵⁵ By the time Dalby Davison visited in 1935 many races including Chinese, Japanese, Aborigines, Torres Strait Islanders, Javanese, Pacific Islanders and Filipinos lived in the shanty town, an ethnic mixture and lifestyle he described with bemusement:

...the visitor may find his [sic] way to Malay Town, a collection of huts among the mangroves on the banks of a saltwater estuary near the outskirts of the city. A coloured population lives here. Not many Malays; Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, mostly, with some that appear to be a mixture of all three. They live chiefly by fishing, and the little estuary where they moor their boats lies just below the line of huts. It stinks at low tide, but looks very picturesque with its crazy little jetties built of stakes, its coil of mangroves, its moored boats, and the flatties dragged up on the mud...¹⁵⁶

A number of notable artists including Donald Friend and Ian Fairweather found solace and artistic nourishment for short periods of time in Malaytown during the 1930s.¹⁵⁷ By the 1940s residents began to move out of Malaytown to better accommodation and in the late 1950s Malaytown was demolished and the area reclaimed. Today Cairns' bulk fuel tanks stand on the site.¹⁵⁸

The Chinese, Melanesians, Japanese and others were important contributors to the regional economy and provided much of the labour to the mining, sugar and other agricultural industries. According to Reynolds:

¹⁵⁴ 'Viator,' "Fragments of North Queensland History: some early townships of the north," *C&C*, March 1929, vol. 4, no. 23, p. 29.

¹⁵⁵ Cairns Historical Society, *Photographic Memories*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁶ F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, p. 213.

¹⁵⁷ G. Wilson, *Escape Artists: modernists in the tropics*, (Cairns, 1998), p. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Cairns Historical Society, *Photographic Memories*, p. 56.

...during the last quarter of the nineteenth century North Australia more clearly and closely reflected its geographical milieu than has been the case at any time since...¹⁵⁹

By the 1920s tourist guide authors were commenting on the exotic nature of Cairns:

... there is a strange Eastern feeling about [Cairns] and somehow, curiously, one thinks of Africa. Not the Desert Africa Hitchen writes of, but Coastal North Africa...¹⁶⁰

E.J. Brady when sitting amongst the coconut palms on a hotel balcony in Cairns was transported back though time to Asia:

... these Tropics will always bring back recollections and dreams. Years of one's youth are like bees in amber – clouded in vision, but clear and musical in memory... what is it that brings you back to me? It is the rustle of coco-palms... whosoever has listened for a time will rest with an unsettled mind. Whosoever has listened, and wandered away where alien winds moan in rugged trees, will come back to listen as Hero listened to Leander; as they listen in Heaven to the harp of the Angel Israfael... Oh, Little-Flower-of-the-Hibiscus, your voice, long-muted in the Silence of Departed Things, comes back to me in the familiar rustle of Northern trees. This play of frayed, familiar leaves is like a rippling of silk in a conservatory where lights are low and young hearts beating!

Up and down, to and fro the coco-leaves move as softly perfumed lace over the heart of a happy girl. When they swing backwards and forwards, before a Nor'-East wind, their music is that of old violins, played in moonlit distance by enamoured lovers. In all the sounds of Nature there is to me none like the wind in the palm-trees! Ah! Flower-of-the-Hibiscus!

In bitter-sweet memory I hear, once again, mayhap for the last time, these songs of tropical winds. They come from over-seas to me, from Mother Asia ... The Temple bells are calling! I can smell that everlasting incense of Orient in which are blended frangipani and nutmegs and coco-nut oil... The silence of a tropic night is broken by the rustle of weeping palm-trees! Oh! The silken rustle of palm-trees! Oh! The silken rustle of palm-trees on a hotel balcony bringing back memories, ages old! ...¹⁶¹

By 1930 some were making comparisons between Cairns and Ceylon:

...the young city of the North of Queensland, Cairns, and the old seaport town of Ceylon are blessed by the same languorous heat in summer, the same rich

¹⁵⁹ H. Reynolds, *North of Capricorn*, p. iv.

¹⁶⁰ QGIB, *Up North*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹ E.J. Brady, *The Land of the Sun*, pp. 47 – 52.

vegetation, the same glorious colourings of hill and coast-line, and in both places the sunlight shines white and clear just faintly tinged with yellow like a washing of pigment over fields and trees and habitations. The air is not quite so hot in Cairns, the streets are wider and lonelier, it is like a ghost town sometimes for very emptiness – yet you quiet people who live there, close your eyes, forget the dreamlike peace into which you have been lulled by the still brilliant Pacific that protects you from the rest of the world and its teeming millions ... Cairns would be infinitely less picturesque than Colombo – for the sun seems to have entered into the blood of the people of Australia so that they cannot see or realise the beauty in their own land. They have a climate similar to that of parts of old India – they can grow the same brilliant flowers and dense shade trees, but they do not care. There is plenty of space, and tomorrow is yet to come. They have not the same passion for trees as these Eastern people...¹⁶²

Cairns' 'exotic' demographic mix was cause for comment in tourism literature from at least the 1930s. Frank Dalby Davison travelled to Cairns in a caravan and was struck by the world he encountered:

... after 24 hours in Cairns the visitor realises that his [sic] mind has become a rag-bag of unassorted impressions. At his hotel he has been served with paw-paw and other tropical fruits. He notices that some of the downstairs work is done by coloured men, Chinese or Aborigines with a dash of kanaka blood in them. The number of coloured people on the streets is noticed: Hindus, Chinese, Japs, kanakas and Aborigines; not in great numbers, but in sufficient to impress the southerner with the fact he has reached a parallel of latitude where White Australia wears rather a streaked and speckled appearance...¹⁶³

It still had the power to provoke comment in promotional literature in the 1950s, albeit couched in nationalistic and religious imagery:

... we in the North are a mixed community of many nations and many creeds. We are all pooling our resources of Knowledge, Ability, and Endeavour, to lay the foundations of a Christian State in which all can live in peace and harmony, bearing with one another, forgiving one another...¹⁶⁴

As indicated earlier, part of the Romantic impulse was love for the exotic. The Aborigines of the Cairns region were eminently suitable for display by tourism interests as the 'exotic other' due to the region's tropical location and climate, and its

¹⁶² N. C. Francis, "Cairns and Colombo: intimate impressions," *Cairns Post*, 13 July 1930,

¹⁶³ F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, pp. 210 & 213.

¹⁶⁴ *The Mulgrave Shire, North Queensland: Australia*, (Cairns, 1954), p.98.

location on the edges of Australia's 'pleasure periphery,' the Pacific,¹⁶⁵ but this rarely if ever occurred. Melanesians and Polynesians from Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Fiji by contrast were the subject of advertising which perpetuated myths of savagery and primitivism until the 1960s.¹⁶⁶ Indeed Aborigines feature on only one brochure cover located in this study, with no reference to the content inside the brochure.¹⁶⁷ (see Figure 5.7) Although the brochure is undated it was probably published in the 1960s to early 1970s, picking up on the 'See Australia First' campaign by the Australian National Travel Association during this period.¹⁶⁸ The exotic nature of Cairns is suggested with a naked Aboriginal man, reminiscent of the noble savage popular in the early 20th century. The colours of the landscape are more reminiscent of a coral reef than a tropical landscape. The insets show familiar tropical landscapes such as waterfalls and the ubiquitous palm tree, thereby assuring travellers of a civilised and safe sojourn with 'nature.'

Tours to Aboriginal Missions such as Yarrabah and Mona Mona were available from 1913 and 1960 respectively but were not encouraged by the industry and were generally by arrangement only.¹⁶⁹ Occasionally locals took the initiative with respect to Aboriginal tourism. Berkley Cook, owner of 'Koombal Park,' during the 1960s operated the school bus service between Yarrabah and Cairns. After dropping the children at school he collected tourists and took them to view the attractions of Yarrabah.¹⁷⁰ A number of attractions such as 'Koombal Park' and the 'Jungle' used

¹⁶⁵ The term 'pleasure periphery' refers to destinations frequented by people from industrialised countries seeking sun, and sea. N. Douglas, *They Came for Savages: 100 years of tourism in Melanesia*, (N.S.W., 1996), p. 71.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 174 – 175.

¹⁶⁷ *Cairns & District: See Australia First*, (Gympie, circa late 1960s).

¹⁶⁸ "See Australia Aids National Development," *Walkabout*, November 1969, vol. 35, no. 12, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ *Picturesque Travel*, No. 3, p. 22; & QGTB, *Day Tours Round and About Cairns*. The tour of Mona Mona Mission, near Kuranda was a weekly tour combined with a tour of the 'Maze' at a cost of £2/6/0.

¹⁷⁰ Pers. Comm., Keith Hill, Cairns, 6 May 2002.

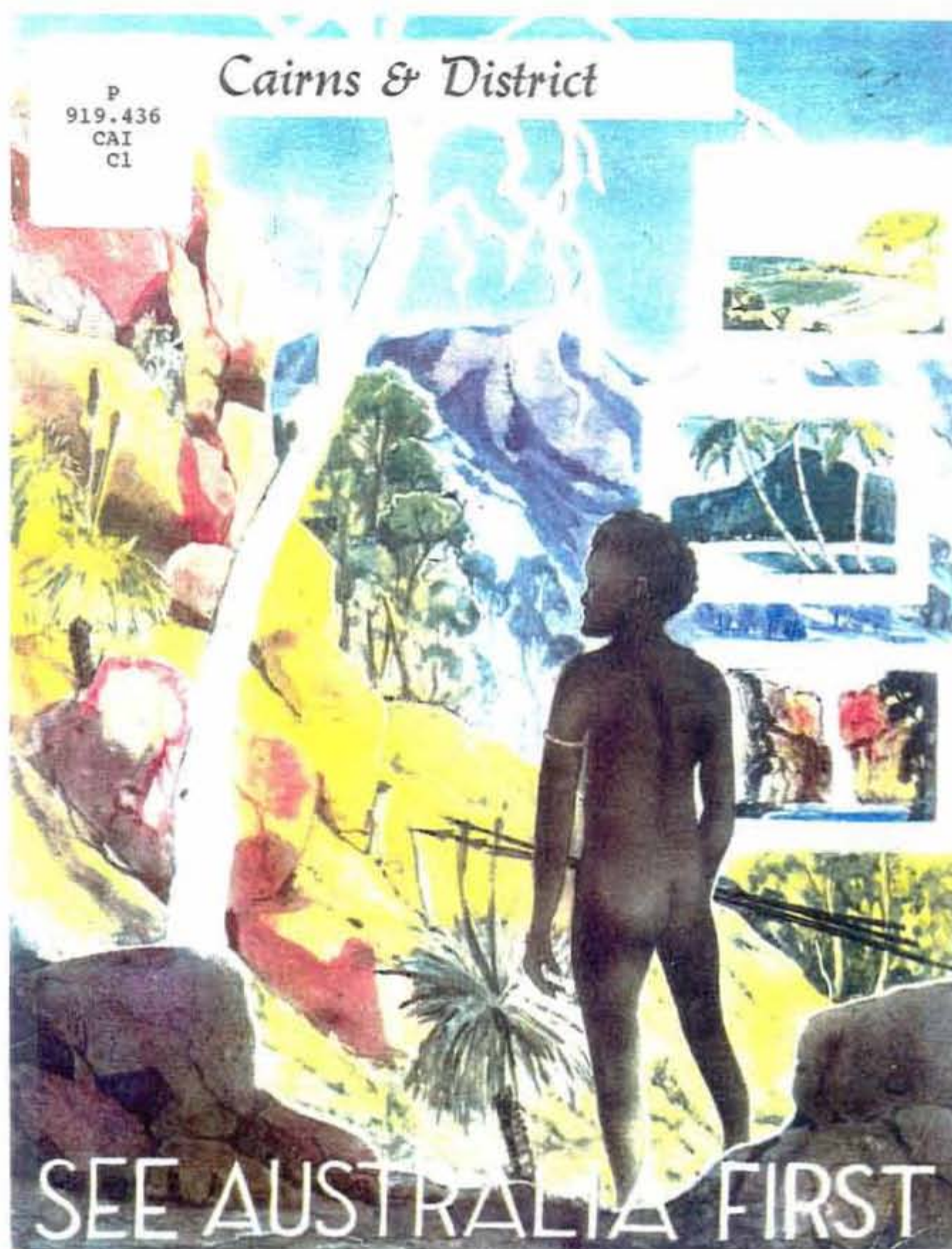


Figure 5.7: Cairns & District: see Australia first, late 1960s. (Cairns & District)

Aborigines as guides and to demonstrate their culture but few visual representations of them are found in tourism literature. Representations of Aborigines and their material culture tended to be published in magazines such as *Cummins & Campbell's Monthly Magazine*, *The North Queensland Register* and *Viewpoint* particularly during the 1930s rather than in tourism literature.

The unromantic gaze: critics of the tourism landscape

Travellers and tourists to the Cairns region searching for the exotic and for health were until the early 1950s generally enthusiastic about the tourism cultural landscape of the region. In 1893 a correspondent to the local newspaper extolled not only the scenic beauty of the area:

... if Cairns, with its marvellous resources was in America it would be blazoned and advertised all over the world: views of the railway and the Barron Falls would be stuck on the Pyramids and a list of its exports appear at the North Pole...¹⁷¹

Travel literature too could find little to fault in the tourism landscape in their quest to lure travellers to the North. Cairns around 1907 was described as "... progressive and prosperous ... the base from which the sightseer and tourist will find it most advantageous to start, for nearby is the famous Barron Gorge and Falls and ... the now famous Atherton Tableland scrubs..."¹⁷² The region's accommodation was considered to be "first-class"¹⁷³ and the climate and the voyage to Cairns a tonic for the invalid.¹⁷⁴

Criticism of the infrastructure, the landscape and the aesthetics of the region tended to come from authors outside the travel genre and from contributors to the local

¹⁷¹ "The products of the District," *Cairns Argus*, 11 October 1893.

¹⁷² QGIB, *North Queensland, Australia: a land teeming with wealth*, p. 22.

¹⁷³ *Bulletin*, 11 May 1911, p. 30.

¹⁷⁴ QGIB, *Cairns: the great winter pleasure trip*, (Brisbane, circa 1920s), no page no.

newspaper. The aesthetics of a colonial town or city were important components of many travellers' perceptions of the worth or otherwise of the landscape generally. The emphasis on the physical nature of Cairns by these authors was not unusual in the accounts of Western travellers. These writers tended to take note of the spatial layout of tropical colonial towns and cities and comment on their aesthetic qualities. This according to Savage not only reflected Western travellers' perceptions but revealed the success of colonialism in fashioning city landscapes in its own image according to the dictates of Western culture, technology and aesthetic taste.¹⁷⁵

'Wandandian' visited Cairns around 1907 and was scathing in his description of the township from the water, a view which normally charmed visitors:

... it appeared very flat and unhealthy, the sight of the hills in the background alone redeeming it and saving it from being an absolutely uninteresting landscape... the back streets of the town...are ugly, dull, and monotonous, each stretching at right angles to the other, and all absolutely devoid of trees or shelter of any kind; while the houses, which are constructed of weather boards, are painted either a dull cream or dirty grey, and possess the usual tin roofs. Nothing is done on the part of the inhabitants to render them more beautiful, for instead of cultivating their gardens, they leave them open to the goats... sometimes [the goats] walking with impunity even into the houses themselves, and thus in their way proving themselves as good scavengers as the pariah dog of the East...¹⁷⁶

Eric Mjöberg, Swedish anthropologist and naturalist, spent a year on the Atherton Tableland in 1912 -1913. He too saw Cairns as an unhealthy place describing it as a

¹⁷⁵ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, pp. 240 – 241.

¹⁷⁶ 'Wandandian,' *Travels in Australasia*, (Birmingham, 1912), pp. 64 – 65. According to Charles Barrett 'Wandandian' was a young English barrister who was on a tour of the Empire before starting his life as a barrister. One of the objects of his tour was to gain knowledge of the British Dominions, knowledge that would assist him in becoming a member of the House of Commons. C. Barrett, *The Sunlit Land*, pp. 127 – 128. 'Wandandian's' comments echo Rousseau's sentiments regarding landscape taste: "...No flat country, however beautiful it may be, ever appeared so to me. I need torrents, rocks, firs, dark woods, mountains, rough tracks to climb up and down, precipices by my side to give me a nice fright..." Rousseau, cited by J. Towner, *An Historical Geography*, p. 140.

“...dirty, swampy little place where malarial fever was rampant and typhus and dysentery common.”¹⁷⁷

In 1930 Cairns civic pride was under attack in the local press:

... Cairns with its... gambling schools in the main street, its mostly second and third rate hotels, its littered beach and quagmires of streets, made anything but an imposing or pleasing picture and ... left one with the impression that Cairns lacked civic pride...¹⁷⁸

This return visitor while praising “...the impression of quiet, solid prosperity...”¹⁷⁹ remarked that he missed Cairns’ former ‘flamboyancy.’

Artist Donald Friend visited Port Douglas on at least two occasions in 1954 and 1955 and while captivated by the colours and lushness of the vegetation was critical of the local building style and lifestyle:

...the subject matter of Port Douglas as far as I’m concerned is concentrated into a very small area convenient to the pub... in amongst the few shops and houses, there grows a luxuriant variety of palms and mangoes, flowering trees and pines and tangles of vines and towering creepers... the buildings as happens everywhere in the North, seem to have been built in a spirit of laziness and complete indifference to comfort or convenience – the people who inhabit them are quite evidently devoid of any aesthetic sensibilities whatsoever. The exuberance of nature and the accidental effects produced by decay provide the picturesque quality of this town...¹⁸⁰

By the 1950s the Cairns region began to come under more critical appraisal by travel writers and the tourism industry in response to growing expectations by the travelling public and greater organisation of the industry on a state and national level.

¹⁷⁷ E. Mjöberg, cited by R. Ritchie, *Seeing the Rainforests in 19th-century Australia*, (Sydney, 1989), pp. 32 & 127.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Exile,’ “Beautiful Cairns: an appreciation,” *Cairns Post*, 11 November 1930, p. 4.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ D. Friend, cited by G. Wilson, *Escape Artists*, p. 104.

Conclusion

The tourism cultural landscape of Cairns and its hinterland located as it is in the tropics meant that settlers, investors, travellers and others to the area arrived with well established ideas of what the landscape should be like. For those pursuing utilitarian goals of 'taming the landscape' and obtaining an economic return on their monetary and physical investment it was a harsh environment due to the back breaking and often heart breaking task of 'civilising' their 'piece of paradise.' The realities of their lifestyle quickly dispelled residual Romantic ideas regarding a tropical landscape. For the Romantic traveller however the region was 'paradise revisited' with its exotic people, flora and fauna, its abundant waterfalls, rainforest, and islands and reef.

Romantic literature was significant prior to the 1950s in shaping perceptions of the region and perpetuating the myths associated with tropical locations. The most Romantic descriptions were attached to mainland attractions such as the lakes, caves and rainforest. The Reef did not receive much attention from Romantic writers, Dunk Island aside, until the 1930s when access became easier. The travel writing genre was dominated by male writers although at least two female authors offered more pragmatic descriptions reflecting their obvious delight in the tropical flora and fauna.

The picturesque and Romantic 'way of seeing' the tropical landscape was powerful in shaping perceptions of travellers. A number experienced extreme emotional reactions to that which they were viewing, ranging from imagining fairies in caves and rainforest to more transcendental emotional reactions. These reimaginings of the landscape were not common although most travellers did not leave the region unmoved by their experience of a tropical landscape. A tropical landscape after all

was something that had been vividly described since the voyages of discovery; it was a rich and mystical landscape which rarely failed to emotionally engage travellers on some level.

CHAPTER 6: IDEAS SHAPING THE LANDSCAPE: THE JUNGLE

Introduction

Tropical rainforest, whether viewed in the most picturesque and Romantic terms or as a dark, dreary barrier to settlement, invariably invoked curiosity and interest.¹ Although the bizarre aspects of tropical vegetation may have produced fear in some travellers, it could also evoke fascination. Appreciation of the luxuriance of the vegetation was often tempered by the relative lack of colour flowers which many travellers were led to believe existed in abundance due to literary descriptions of 'tropical nature.' Instead they found rainforests which compared unfavorably with the flowers of temperate gardens. The complete contrast between temperate gardens and forests was however a delight to some travellers with Romantic and picturesque ideas of landscape. Many saw the jumble of foliage, the tonal nature of the green vegetation and the flowering vines, as comparable to an impressionistic painting by Nature.² The variety within the jungle had fascinated travellers before them, particularly in Asia. That it still had the power to move people travelling to Cairns well into the 20th century speaks for its breadth of appeal.

The jungle affected people but they also affected it by shaping the perceptions of themselves and others through concepts such as 'tropical nature,' 'tropical garden,' 'wilderness' and 'Eden.' The tropical landscape was highly evocative for many travellers. Emotional resonance was not confined to the Romantic traveller as evidenced by the range of responses by varying types of traveller to the jungle.

¹ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

The idea of 'tropical nature'

Tropical nature is a different kind of nature in Western imagination. It is an idea which is framed in expectations of the exotic, and is the stuff of myth and fantasy, lavishly extolled or alternatively feared in literature and art. It epitomises the 'other' with its larger- than- life flora and fauna, its heat and its exotic inhabitants. Tropical nature is not only a visual experience; it involves smells, sounds, tastes and emotion. Tropical nature still carries the burden of delivering to expectations in present times. The tropical landscape of the Cairns region was viewed differently by various actors with divergent world views: natural scientists collecting flora and fauna; travellers seeking the exotic strangeness portrayed in literature and art; settlers clearing their land of the 'scrub' for cultivation and habitation; investors seeking a return on their investment; and governments seeking to 'People the North.' Colonies containing large indigenous populations such as India, Brazil and Indonesia, which were considered racially inferior and full of tropical fevers and dangerous 'miasmas.' This led to tropical nature being invested with divergent values by Europeans and accounts for the varying depictions and descriptions of the same landscape. As a result tropical nature could represent:

...heat and warmth but also ...a dangerous and diseased environment; ...a superabundant fertility but also ... fatal excess; species novelty but also ... the bizarre and deadly; lazy sensuality and sexuality but also impermissible racial mixings and degeneration...³

Early travellers, tourists, settlers and visitors to the Cairns region came with preconceived ideas, images and associated meanings of what a tropical cultural landscape should be. What later travellers 'saw' when they viewed the jungle would have very much depended upon that which they experienced through the literary works, travel writing, drawings,

³ N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 21.

photographs and diagrams of the era, and their own experiences. The idea of a tropical landscape⁴ began to develop during the eighteenth century with European colonisation and science.⁵ Particularly influential in the development of the tropical image was Alexander von Humboldt, a German scientific traveller who saw the tropics as "...a grand theatre of life..."⁶ full of drama, emotion and colour. Humboldt's travels throughout South America from 1799 -1804 and the publication of his influential book *Aspects of Nature* in 1808 ensured him a world wide reputation with considerable influence over naturalists and artists.⁷ Charles Darwin commented that when he first entered a tropical forest he "...saw nature through eyes prepared by ... Humboldt..."⁸ Humboldt's conceptualisation was innovative, introducing new symbolic meanings, scientific data and visual representations, but it also perpetuated many of the myths and stereotypes of humanity and nature in 'hot places.' These ideas go back to classical times when writers such as Hippocrates, Aristotle and Herodotus developed a body of literature, ideas and theories about how tropical heat affected human physique, physiology, character, behaviour, culture and political systems.⁹ These ideas were further developed as Europeans began overseas voyages and travelled more widely. This led to three schools of thought about the effects of climate on humans with all three viewpoints being held about tropical areas such as the Cairns region. These included a favourable

⁴ For Stepan, 'Tropical nature' is a specifically tropical site and sight. To see the distinctive ensemble of natural history and geography required intellectual and perceptual frameworks to assist the viewer sort out what was salient, striking, useful or scientifically unusual. These were post-Enlightenment developments. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25. Humboldt wrote about his travels through Venezuela, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador (1799-1804) thereby providing a model for writing about and viewing the tropics that influenced naturalists and artists for decades.

⁷ R. Ritchie, *Seeing the Rainforests in 19th-Century Australia*, (Sydney, 1989), p. 43.

⁸ Charles Darwin cited by N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 15.

⁹ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p. 142.

view whereby the tropical climate was seen as good for Europeans and indigenous people alike, an unfavourable view where the climate was associated with disease especially for Europeans, and another view which saw climate as having an influence on behaviour, race, society and culture.¹⁰ Preconceived notions and the language of the picturesque provided a framework through which people sought to understand the tropical landscape and without them they would have had difficulty comprehending a landscape vastly different from that of Europe.

Cairns was visited by Europeans well after other tropical areas in the world were 'discovered' and described. Despite this, many descriptions of the region were written by authors who found difficulty in describing adequately that which they were viewing. These landscapes contrasted sharply with those of England. The sights, sounds and smells of the tropics were more intrusive than the 'nature' of the temperate regions. For some, this quite different sensory experience was jarring whereas others delighted in the exotic differences.

Descriptions of the rainforest of Cairns and its hinterland abound in early accounts of the region. Perceptions of the tropical jungle fall into three broadly aesthetic responses. One impression conveyed plentitude, exuberance and fecundity; a second, more emotional response ranged from viewing the vegetation as soothing and beautiful to seeing it as something bizarre and even to be feared; and a third aesthetic response is related to Western landscape taste.¹¹ Every aesthetic response is both culturally

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

conditioned and an individual or subjective response to the landscape. Inevitably the temperate forests of the author's homeland were the basis for comparison. Common complaints about the rainforest included a lack of colourful flowers, tropical orchids aside, and the uniformity of the colour of the vegetation. This was seen to produce not monotony but a series of scenes considered beautiful, though not striking or grand.¹² Paradoxically, this idea of the jungle as a beautiful landscape was due to both the harmony and symmetry of the vegetation, along with the presence of bizarre shapes, forms and sizes, particularly the creepers and epiphytes.

In 1880 the author of *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel*, Alfred Wallace, saw the eucalypt forests of Australia much as other travellers of the time did:

... as a vegetation of a remarkably somber and uniform colour, occasioned mainly by the peculiar foliage of the Eucalyptus and the small-leaved bushes constituting the 'scrub,' the leaves of which lack that striking contrast of shade on their outer and under surfaces, which contributes so largely to the shifting tints of our European woodlands...¹³

However he viewed the tropical forests in quite a different way, delighting in the abundance and the potential of the tropical vegetation of North Queensland. He was one of the few early travellers to write about the tropical rainforests in this manner:

... it was thought formerly that the flora of tropical Australia was poor in species as compared with the temperate portion ... now, however (1880) Baron F. von Müller estimates the flora of Queensland alone at 3753 species... this varied vegetation is very fine, and probably equals that of the forests of Brazil or Borneo. Here are giant figs with huge winding buttresses ... elegant palms of many species and gigantic tree ferns, covered with orchids ... epiphytal ferns – the 'stag-horn' and the 'bird's nest' – grow upon the stems of the tallest trees, like the capitals of the pillars of a giant temple... huge climbers, species of Wisteria, trumpet flowers, passion-flowers, and many others, bind tree to tree with their rope-like stems and help to form the dense screen of foliage at a height of 150 feet

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹³ A. Wallace, *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel, Volume. 1: Australia and New Zealand*, (London, 1893), p. 44.

overhead... it is often said that Australia possesses no wild eatable fruits, but this hardly applies to the native flora of Queensland. Davidson's plum... is excellent for cooking. The Herbert River cherry... resembles a juicy acid cherry and makes good preserve or jelly. There are several native limes, the native cumquat... and several fruits of the genus *Eugenia* [which] are excellent for preserving...¹⁴

Jungle appeared to be a powerful catalyst for feelings and moods.¹⁵ Melancholy was a frequent response to the jungle's gloom, silence and relative lack of bird and animal life. Responses to the landscape invariably became more pronounced during the hours of darkness. The gloom of the night, combined with a strange environment, could conjure up many possibilities in the imagination. Those traversing the lonely roads at night were particularly susceptible. Feelings of melancholy could be evoked by its absolute contrast with the forests of England. Ellis Rowan, generally a passionate supporter of the rainforest, was struck by the silent jungle on her way to Chillagoe in 1898:

... In the early morning and sunset these scrubs are full of life, with flocks of pigeons eating the fruits, cockatoos and parrots of every colour, whipbirds and bellbirds, scrub turkeys, wallabys [sic], bandicoots... but in the heat of the day all is silent as a tomb...¹⁶

Perceptions of the forest as mournful or melancholic were common in 19th century literature and this reaction is usually attributed to the influence of Romanticism or nostalgia for the Home Country. Some however found the stillness of the forest curious but restful:

Not a sound disturbs the air,
there is quiet everywhere;
over plains and over woods

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-357. Alfred Wallace was an English naturalist and was passionate about tropical regions. For four years during the 1840s he travelled the Amazon River collecting plant specimens. He also spent eight years in the Malay Archipelago. This accounts for his glowing description of the rainforest of the Cairns region. R. Ritchie, *Seeing the Rainforests*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁵ V. Savage, *Western Impressions*, p. 262.

¹⁶ E. Rowan, *The Flower Hunter*, p. 43. Bellbirds are denizens of Southern forests and do not in fact occur in the North.

what a mighty stillness broods;
 all the birds and insects keep
 where the coolest shadows sleep;
 even the busy ants are found
 resting in their pebbled mound;
 even the locust clingeth now
 silent to the barky bough;
 over the hills and over plains
 quiet, vast and slumbrous, reigns.
 Only there's a drowsy humming
 from yon warm lagoon slow coming:
 'tis the dragon-hornet – see!
 All bedaubed resplendently,
 yellow on a tawny ground –
 each rich spot nor square nor round,
 rudely heart-shaped, as it were
 the blurred and hasty impress there
 of a vermeil-crueted seal,
 dusted o'er with golden meal.
 Only there's a droning where
 yon bright beetle shines in air,
 tracks it in its gleaming flight,
 with slanting beam of light,
 rising in the sunshine higher,
 till its shards flame out like fire.

Every other thing is still,
 save the ever-wakeful rill,
 whose cooler murmur only throws
 cooler comfort round repose;
 or some ripple in the sea
 of leafy boughs, where, lazily,
 tired summer, in her bower
 turning with the noontide hour,
 heaves a slumbrous breath ere she
 once more slumbers peacefully.
 Oh, 'tis easeful here to be
 hidden from noon's scorching eye.
 In this grassy cool recess
 musing thus of quietness.¹⁷

Initially more positive responses tended to be shown toward tropical gardens, due to the concentration in a small space of colour and luxuriant growth and the presence of

¹⁷ C. Harpur, "A Midsummer Noon in the Australian Forest," *C&C*, March 1937, vol. 5, no. 120, p. 8.

colourful butterflies. The tropical garden conformed to preconceived ideas of 'tropical nature.' Bishop Gilbert White exemplifies this response when he stopped at Cordelia Vale, on his voyage to Cairns:

... [I] was delighted with my first experience of a tropical garden – gorgeous scarlet hibiscus, the sweet-smelling frangipanis, different varieties of bougainvillea, orchids of bewildering variety, yellow alamanda, [sic] passion fruit, granadillas, grapes, pine-apples, pomegranates, mangoes, figs, coco-nuts, papaws, oranges, and limes made a walk abroad a wonderful experience for one just landed in the tropics. One must add the gorgeous butterflies, red, green and a flashing metallic blue...¹⁸

The idea of what a tropical garden should look like probably originated with the accounts of rainforests provided by naturalists such as Charles Darwin in the 1800s.¹⁹ Jeannie Sim has identified the qualities which distinguish a tropical garden or landscape: lush, densely planted vegetation; a selection of large-leaved plants; the presence of vines climbing up tree trunks; exotic, visually striking plants such as palms, bamboo, fig trees, epiphytes, Poinciana, jacaranda, crotons, and Bird of Paradise; and a fernery or bush house.²⁰ Examples of these tropical gardens are seen in tourist attractions in the Cairns region particularly from the 1930s: the 'Maze,' 'Fairyland Tea Gardens,' the Kuranda railway station, Paronella Park and the fernery at Lake Barrine. Prior to this, vegetation at attractions such as these tended to be described merely as fine examples of tropical scrub. By the 1930s the 'tropical scrub' of the 'Maze' was described as a:

...riotous splendour ...[revealed by a walk] down cool green aisles... with dense undergrowth on either side and intricate tracteries of vines, creepers, staghorns and orchids hanging in festoons from the tree tops...²¹

¹⁸ G. White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia*, (Sydney, 1918), p.4.

¹⁹ D. Hunsman, "Tropical Gardens: the myth and the reality," *Queensland Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, November 2003, p. 125.

²⁰ J. Sim, "Tropicalia: gardens with tropical attitude," *Queensland Review*, November 2003, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 1 – 2.

²¹ QGTB, *North Queensland: the cream of the continent*, (Brisbane, 1935), p. 25.

'Fairyland' was described in similar terms as an:

...entrancing garden, where delicate creepers mingle in riotous profusion with trees, palms, ferns and parasitic plants as they struggle higher and higher for light and existence...²²

Government departments too saw the value in developing tropical gardens. In 1915 Kuranda received a new railway station. Replacing the refreshment rooms erected in the late 1890s, this colonial style station was reputedly the first pre-cast concrete building in Australia.²³ By 1928 the station was being described as the 'prettiest in Australia' having won the prize for the best railway station garden in Queensland for a number of years. The garden was described as 'beautifully laid out' and the station adorned with "...over a hundred hanging baskets of ferns, orchids, and plants of all description from our own scrubs and surrounding districts..."²⁴ In 1930 the plant festooned station was being displayed in magazines. (see Figure 6.1) By 1935 the number of hanging baskets had swelled to "...no less than 270 baskets of ferns and orchids...and 450 other plants..."²⁵ (see Figures 6.2 and 6.3) By the 1950s at least one commentator was claiming that Kuranda's fame was due to the festooned station:

...Kuranda township [has been] made famous by the red-tiled railway station surrounded by a miniature botanical garden. It was as though annual show day had come to Kuranda, and the loveliest entries of orchids, crotons, ferns and shrubs had been placed in their various classes for judging. The delicate acalypha made a brilliant show, offset by blue and gilded butterflies that fluttered among them. It was all a facet of tropical brilliance found only at Kuranda, guardian of the Barron Falls...²⁶

²² QGTB, *Cairns and Hinterland*, no page number.

²³ G. Ross, *Tourist Reactions*, p. 5.

²⁴ F. Dean, "Kuranda tourist and holiday resort," *C & C*, July 1928, vol. 4, no. 14, p. 42.

²⁵ "The Cairns District: rich agricultural land, magnificent scenery," *C & C*, March 1935, vol. 5, no. 95, p. 39.

²⁶ A.C.C. Lock, *Tropical Tapestry*, p. 245.

Paronella Park's gardens blended Spanish architecture with the tropical paradise garden to produce "... an exotic fantasy world, a fairyland with Romantic castles, dark tunnels, streams and bridges and a secret garden..."²⁷ (see Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5) He planted ferns, rainforest trees and an avenue of kauris. Much praise was lavished on the fernery built by George Curry at Lake Barrine. An agricultural expert, Mr. W. Noble, was impressed by his collection of orchids and elkhorns "... adorning his wonderful grottoes alongside the kiosk... [claiming that] in a year or two the galaxy of beauty will be marvellous..."²⁸ The fernery did not escape the attention of tourist guide authors:

...After leaving the boat a visit to the Fernery is paid, where a collection of most of the indigenous ferns, etc., are to be seen. The Tassell Ferns are in great prominence, Stag horns, Bird's Nests and the pretty tints of the beautiful Cooktown Orchids immediately catch the eye of the visitor. This spot has the makings of a veritable Fairyland and the prettily designed building of rubble work sets it off...²⁹

Botanical gardens were ultimate tropical gardens. In 1884 the Cairns Progress Association advocated that a botanical garden be established. Botanic gardens were considered important for recreation, the preservation of native vegetation, the display of native flora and fauna, and the acclimatisation of useful plants, with the latter being considered the most important.³⁰ In 1886 an area of about 71 acres was gazetted as a Botanic Reserve. It was established by the Edge Hill Nursery, a name which continued

²⁷ D. Leighton, *The Spanish Dreamer: a biography of José Paronella*, L. Hulton (Ed), (N.S.W., 1997), pp. 62 – 63.

²⁸ "Toowoomba to Cairns. Two Great Districts: a competent critic appreciates the Far North," *Cairns Post*, 15 August 1930, p. 4.

²⁹ CTPA, *Informative Tourists' Guide Book*, p. 41.

³⁰ D. Rutherford, "Eugene Fitzalan: pioneer of the Flecker Botanic Garden," *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin*, no. 493, August 2002.



Figure 6.1: Views of Kuranda Railway Station. (C & C, May 1930, vol. 4, no. 37)



Figure 6.2: The garden at the Kuranda Railway Station, 1956. (A.C.C. Lock, *Tropical Tapestry*)



Figure 6.3: The Fernery at Kuranda Railway Station, c. 1950s. (Cairns: a souvenir booklet of North Queensland)



Figure 6.4: View of Paronella Park, circa 1960s. (TRI 873/1, Box 76, 1 July 1963 – 28 April 1983, File no. 242, QSA)



Figure 6.5: Paronella Park. (*Cairns the Tropical Wonderland*, 1961)

until 1971 when it was renamed the Flecker Botanic Gardens after Hugo Flecker.³¹

The subsequent development of the Reserve was tied to the work of one man, Eugene Fitzalan, who arrived in Cairns in July 1886. By November of that year he had written to the Cairns Divisional Board detailing a proposal to develop an ornamental garden, sufficiently attractive to entice the public. Evidently he was well aware of the Victorian love of natural history and collecting expressed in the plant collections of botanical gardens from all over the tropics. The Board offered Fitzalan the position of caretaker of the Botanic Reserve. Fitzalan's concern at the felling of timber and construction of roads through the Reserve speak of his conservation ideas.³² By 1887 he had begun landscaping a part of the Reserve into an ornamental garden named 'Rosebank,' constructed a perimeter fence to keep out goats, and established a circular walking track which passed through the rainforest described as a 'dim cathedral aisle.'³³ Among the plants cultivated by Fitzalan were 50 varieties of roses, 11 varieties of hibiscus, orchids, ferns, and local plants from the adjacent Whitfield Range. He also grew coffee, and grafted orange, lemons and mangoes which he made available to residents of the area. This part of the Reserve was within walking distance of the railway station, allowing easy access for the public. In addition, he was permitted to sell refreshments thereby

³¹ Hugo Flecker is best known for his positive identification of the deadly box jellyfish in 1955. He was an enthusiastic member of the North Queensland Naturalists Club and wrote a weekly 'Nature Topics' column in the *Cairns Post* between 1935 and 1957. A. Hudson, "The North I Knew: nature's own doctor," *Cairns Post*, 28 January 2005, p. 16.

³² D. Rutherford, "Eugene Fitzalan," This 5 acre area was formerly a Chinese market garden and adjoined the railway line near the cutting at the Three Mile. The area consisted of terraced hillside slopes and level ground below that drained into an adjacent swamp.

³³ *Ibid.*

enhancing the appeal of the garden for the public. Fitzalan relinquished his caretaker role in 1897 due to poor health and was replaced by James Morgan.³⁴

By the 1930s the purpose of the Edge Hill Nursery was one of "...merely the propagation of plants and shrubs to supply the city garden plots and enclosures..." and there were calls for the establishment of a Botanical Garden.³⁵ However, by 1935 the Nursery was being mentioned, albeit by name only, in a tourist guide book as an attraction of Cairns.³⁶ Perhaps in an effort to deflect the Nursery's shortcomings as a Botanical Garden, the Cairns City Council in 1936 established a zoo in the grounds which operated until 1950.³⁷

Indeed the State Government's Kamerunga Nursery, an experimental farm established in 1889 on the banks of the Barron River to assist agriculture, attracted more attention from travellers and travel writers prior to 1930. In 1913 Kamerunga Nursery was described as "... the most interesting and educational tropical garden in Australia..."³⁸ A female traveller during this period was impressed by the range of plants cultivated and found the Nursery to be "... one of the most instructive and interesting places in Australia..."³⁹ Its successor, a Department of Primary Industries station, fell victim to development in the

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ "The Cairns Botanical Gardens," *Northern Affairs*, 6 May 1932, p. 4.

³⁶ C.B. Christesen, *Queensland Journey*, p. 217.

³⁷ A permit was issued in 1936 allowing the Cairns City Council to keep native birds and animals in captivity in the zoological gardens at the Council Nursery at Edge Hill. See Memo 36.28012 dated 18 December 1936 from the Under Secretary of Department of Agriculture and Stock, Brisbane, to the Cairns City Council, in SRS 146/1: Correspondence Files Cairns City Council, 1899 – 1948. The curator in 1937 was Les Wright and the animals kept at the zoo included kookaburras, carpet snakes, bats, owls, possums and cuscus. "Excerpts from the 1937 editions of the Cairns Post: Edge Hill Zoo: curators report," *Cairns Post*, 30 March 2002, p. 10. Later animals included cassowaries, wallabies, crocodiles, birds, sugar gliders and wombats. A. Hudson, "The North I Knew: nature's own doctor," *Ibid.*, 28 January 2005, p. 16.

³⁸ *Picturesque Travel*, no. 3, p. 22.

³⁹ QGIB, *Up North*, p. 21.

1990s and the Botanic Gardens is now an important attraction for locals and tourists alike.

In more modern times the idea of 'tropical nature' like other forms of nature is increasingly being seen as a product of human and natural interactions.⁴⁰ Extrapolating this idea, the germ of which lies with landscape gardener Roberto Burle Marx, Stepan sees that thinking of tropical nature as a tropical garden could redefine the way humans relate to nature since the demise of the concept of 'untouched wilderness.'⁴¹ Stepan points to the irony of the similarities of Romantic depictions of tropical nature and today's, with the rainforest increasingly housed in gardens and theme parks, or sequestered in small pockets of national parks, preserving endangered remnants of what was once awe-inspiring (or threatening) forest. Today the jungle surviving around Cairns is not portrayed as a Romantic picture but as an ecological experience. Environmental and visitor pressures on these areas may well lead to the production of the highly manufactured representation and experience of tropical nature described by Stepan.

Similar sentiments towards nature and the landscape were shared by American authors such as Walt Whitman but were expressed in a different way, that is, through the development of National Parks, a movement that helped to shape landscape attitudes in Australia also. The development of National Parks in America is seen by Raymond Williams as being inextricably bound up with national identity. According to Lowenthal 19th century Americans were aware that they lacked the heritage of centuries of Western

⁴⁰ N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 242.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

culture, so they idealised spectacular natural monuments such as the Grand Canyon and Yosemite as expressions of the transcendental.⁴² This American tendency to express the Divinity of Nature in the National Parks movement was also seen in Australia. Seddon sees an Ayers Rock cult having been constructed in a similar manner and for similar reasons.⁴³ The presence of Ayers Rock countered the European view of Australia as a uniform and featureless landscape, whereas for the Aborigines:

...every feature of the landscape is known and has meaning – they...perceive differences which the European cannot see. These differences may be in terms of detail or in terms of a magical and invisible landscape, the symbolic landscape being even more varied than the perceived physical space...every individual feature of Ayers Rock is linked to a significant myth and the mythological beings who created it. Every tree, every stain, hole and fissure has meaning...⁴⁴

There were however significant differences between North American and Australian nature writers. North American essayists depicted nature as a realm outside of human society whereas Australian essayists emphasised the relationship between people and the landscape. This is seen by Thomas Dunlap as being the result of our settlement experience and close ties with England.⁴⁵ Australian nature writers emphasised the similarities between English and Australian flora and fauna. These were reminders of 'home.' As people settled into small towns and 'put down roots' and made the land their home or 'place,' they developed personal associations with the rhythms of nature in Australia.⁴⁶ While Australia's temperate forests were incorporated into national consciousness by the 1920s and were championed by nationalistic authors and artists, the rainforests of North Queensland as noted earlier were much removed from the frontier

⁴² Lowenthal, cited by G. Seddon, *Landprints*, p. 9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ A. Rapoport, cited by L. Holloway & P. Hubbard, *People and Place*, p. 74.

⁴⁵ T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, pp. 106 – 107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 107 – 108.

mythology and nationalist imagery of the country.⁴⁷ Rachel Sanderson sees that for much of the 20th century North Queensland's rainforest was seen as an "...alien form of vegetation from Papua New Guinea..."⁴⁸ She suggests that it was only after advances in paleoecological studies and plate tectonics which increased our knowledge of Gondwanaland, that rainforest was incorporated into Australian sense of nationalism, during the 1980s.⁴⁹

The setting aside of tracts of land for recreation and scenic value was an important initiative in protecting nature during the period 1880 – 1920. National Parks were created for diverse reasons, incorporating various models, in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and North America during this period. Early Australian national parks were modelled on the British idea of green spaces for city dwellers rather than for scenic beauty; New Zealand's first park was established with the intention of attracting overseas visitors, and Canada largely followed the American model that established Yellowstone National Park.⁵⁰ Common to all was the establishment of national parks in areas which had no other economic value such as millable timber, mining, or agricultural land; they were 'wastelands.'⁵¹ In Australia until well after World War II parks were selected on the principle that "...if the scenery is good and nobody else wants it, then it could be a

⁴⁷ R. Searle, "Artists in Tropical Queensland," p. 10.

⁴⁸ R. Sanderson, "Tangled Visions: changing scientific perspectives on the North Queensland rainforest, 1770 – 1990," forthcoming PhD, 2005, James Cook University, Townsville. PhD Exit seminar, 6 May 2005.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, pp. 118 – 119. Yellowstone National Park was established in 1872. The Yellowstone model was one of "large natural areas with the scenery, plants, and wildlife in a natural state." *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵¹ T. Griffiths, *Forests of Ash*, p. 125.

park..."⁵² By the 1960s however this attitude was changing due to the increasing influence of ecological principles. As noted earlier, Tom Griffiths suggests that this 'way of seeing' forests and rainforest

...shifted the emphasis to non-human values: the preservation of biodiversity, the protection of gene pools, the integrity of ecosystems, the independent rights of animals and plants...nature conservation came to have purposes completely independent of tourism and sometimes in conflict with it...⁵³

The success of the sanctification of natural monuments appears to be related to the symbolism drawn from the Garden of Eden, the first Paradise for Christian cultures. Olwig sees that the idea of paradise alone would not motivate people to conserve landscapes as national parks, if the Garden of Eden only brought forth feelings of nostalgia for the past. He posits that the idea of the garden is potent in Western culture as it is a symbol of a society living as one with its social and physical environment.⁵⁴ The garden represents the harmony and ideal balance of Nature which is achieved through the blending of four elements: earth, wind, fire and water. An imbalance in these elements creates an infertile, barren wasteland: too much fire and earth produces a desert and excessive water and earth produces a steaming jungle. As seen in biblical and classical stories, if people behave naturally and loved their gods and one another, they would reside in a harmonious environment, a garden akin to Eden. The reverse occurs when they behave unnaturally, when they contravene the edicts of their society; their environment becomes difficult, bewildering, unforgiving and infertile, a wilderness.⁵⁵

The garden has both physical and spiritual dimensions in the Western psyche. Setting

⁵² E. Guiler, cited by T. Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora*, p. 119.

⁵³ T. Griffiths, *Forests of Ash*, p. 125.

⁵⁴ K. Olwig, "Reinventing Common Nature: Yosemite and Mount Rushmore: a meandering tale of double nature," in W. Cronon (Ed), *Uncommon Ground: rethinking the human place in nature*, (New York, 1996), p. 384.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 384 – 385.

aside large tracts of nature as National Parks became associated in Western culture with the symbolism attached to gardens, a process which tamed and sanctified it.

The notion of wilderness as a garden can evoke comparisons with the Garden of Eden. 'Edenic narratives,' a term coined by Candace Slater, are 'natural' landscapes which consciously or otherwise conjure up images of Eden. These are powerful images in Western culture and influence how we view particular people and places.⁵⁶ Slater in her analysis of images associated with Amazonia identified two major types of Edenic stories: the first linked to the story of Adam and Eve outlined in Genesis⁵⁷ and a second type which offers a "...less ordered and less orthodox reworking of elements contained in Genesis..."⁵⁸ This second category is more flexible and inclusive than the first and is more relevant to the Cairns region, about which many quasi-Edenic narratives were generated. In the Cairns area places such as 'Fairylane,' the 'Maze' and Jungle Avenue attracted such narratives. Some of the literature generated about these and other attractions could however be considered as 'after-Eden' stories, narratives of nostalgia for a better past, full of a sense of irrevocable and continuing loss.⁵⁹ This type of theme is seen in the writings of Frank Dalby Davison and Jean Devanny, referred to earlier. Davison bemoaned the degradation of a formerly pristine environment. When journeying to Kuranda by rail he was appalled at the scars on the ridges and gullies of the Barron

⁵⁶ C. Slater, "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative," p. 115.

⁵⁷ "This story presupposes an initial state of harmony and perfection in which human beings live as one with other divine creations [and] it posits the notion of human separability from, and potential mastery over, nature... The 'strict' accounts of Eden include an obligatory fall from grace following Adam and Eve's refusal to obey the divine mandate not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge. They conclude with the exile from the garden that imposes upon human beings the necessity of labour and thus challenges their original mastery over nature." *Ibid.*, pp. 115 – 116.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Gorge caused by 'the careless use of fire.' While acknowledging the firebreaks as being necessary for the protection of the railway line he saw it as a:

...disfigurement... of such size that it competes for the traveller's attention, on equal terms, with the wild beauty he [sic] should be enjoying. It epitomises, in its way, our roughshod trampling through virgin loveliness...⁶⁰

The North Queensland Naturalist's Club seized upon Davison and Nicholls' book in a column titled 'Ugly Atherton' to make their case for preserving native trees and vegetation on the Atherton Tableland.⁶¹ Jean Devanny's 'debunking Dunk' condemned the 'vulgarisation' of Banfield's island and lamented the felling of rainforest on the island to make way for an aerodrome. However she revelled in the tea-trees, the avenue of coconut palms and the jungle-clad hills viewed from one of Hugo Brassey's "...infernally horrible 'Swiss chalet' huts..."⁶² (see Figure 6.6)

Edenic or quasi-Edenic narratives are not common in contemporary literature. This is probably due to the way meanings associated with the rainforest have changed. The influence of environmentalists and ecologists has recategorised the jungle or rainforest as biodiversity. Despite this 'recasting' of the rainforest, it is important to note that images of the rainforest seen on television and in literature still evoke the Edenic idea of 'paradise lost' through the loss of the pristine environment.⁶³ The ecological 'way of seeing' the rainforest may now predominate but often within this framework in tourism literature are lingering Romantic and nostalgic connotations.

⁶⁰ F. Dalby Davison & B. Nicholls, *Blue Coast Caravan*, p. 255.

⁶¹ "Current Nature Topics: ugly Atherton," *Cairns Post*, 27 December 1935.

⁶² J. Devanny, *By Tropic Sea and Jungle*, pp. 29 – 30.

⁶³ C. Slater, "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative," p. 241.

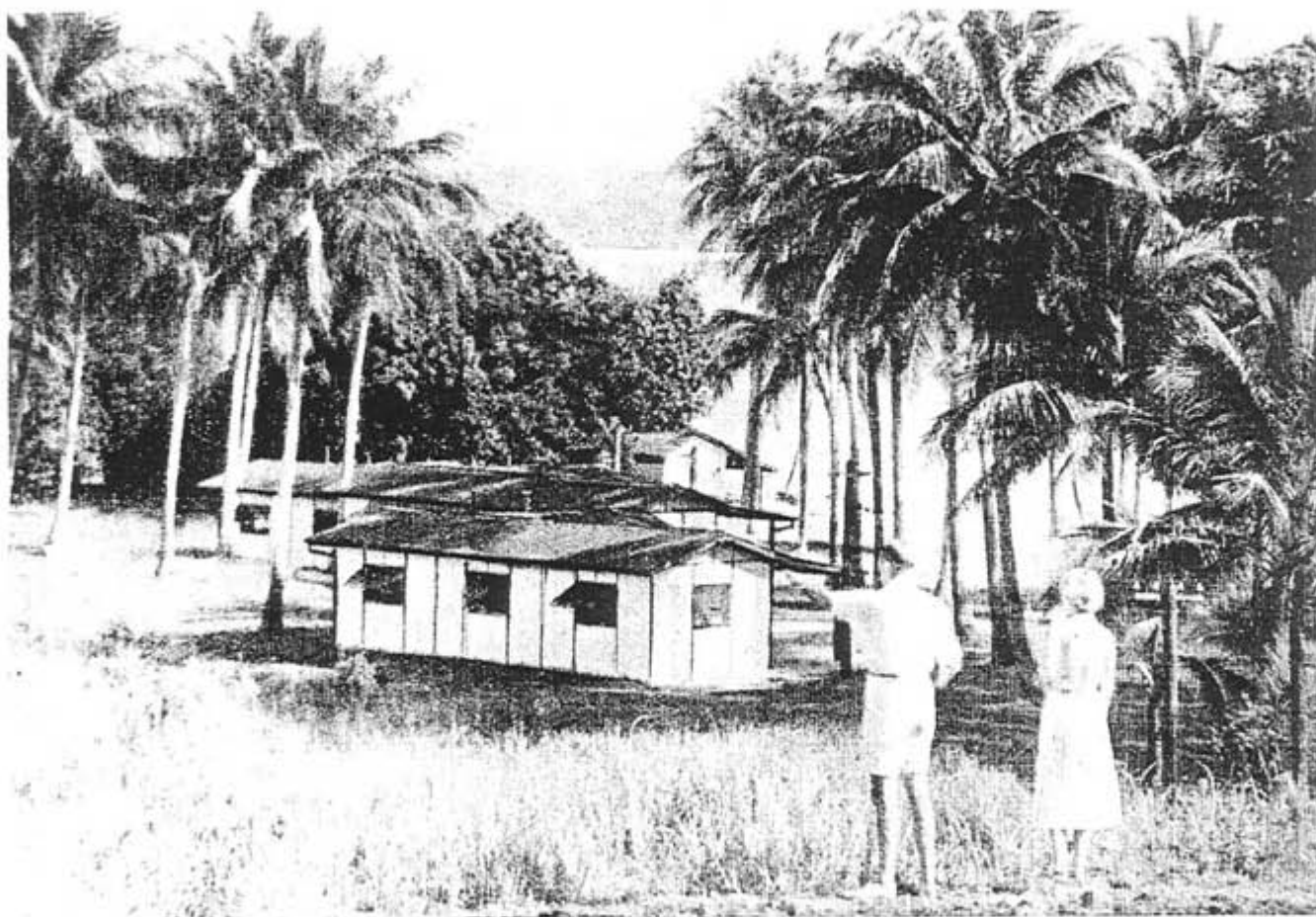


Figure 6.6: Chalets set amongst coconut palms on Dunk Island. (*C & C*, December 1940, vol. 16, no. 12)

The tropical vegetation of the Cairns region has since the 1890s been known as 'scrub,' 'jungle' and more recently 'rainforest.' Settlers of North Queensland 'scrubs' battled to remove the mass of vegetation confronting them in their quest to convert 'wilderness to wealth.' 'Scrubs' was a disparaging and utilitarian epithet applied to Queensland's tropical forests, the clearing of which was back-breaking and an often heart-breaking task of 'taming' the land. The epithet reflects the speed at which the jungle was demythologised. Local historian Hugh Borland commented upon the origins of the word:

...for a century along the eastern coast of Australia pioneers have penetrated scrubs, felled scrubs and cleared scrubs. Hence in writing of our northern jungles we, from custom, still use the word scrubs. For example: "Wanted. Tenders for felling and clearing of 40 acres of scrub." Rain forests, indeed! Scrubs, as term used, more adequately expresses the almost solid mass of vegetation that had to be removed...⁶⁴

Occasionally commentators expressed regret at the demise of the rainforest. 'Wandandian' lamented the likely demise of North Queensland's 'peculiar' flora and fauna in the wake of cultivation and settlement:

...all along this coast line [from Townsville to Cairns] there are great areas of tropical forests which produce many kinds of ornamental as well as useful timber; and, as the soil is very rich when cleared and the rainfall unusually heavy... it will one day form the wealthiest and most prosperous district in North Queensland. I am afraid, however, that when the sudden rush for land comes, as it is bound to do sooner or later upon the introduction of a sane immigration policy, that then these lovely forests will almost certainly be swept out of existence by the axe of the settler; a fact which ...would mean the total destruction of many interesting and peculiar forms of animal or vegetable life...⁶⁵

⁶⁴ H. Borland, "Pathways of Yesterday: three goldfields – Mulgrave, Mareeba and Clohesy," *Cairns Post*, 28 June 1939, p. 29.

⁶⁵ 'Wandandian,' *Travels in Australasia*, p. 63.

Some commentators viewed the scrub in Romantic terms. E.J. Brady writing in 1924 offers an elaborate description of the Cairns region's scrub:

...Australians who have never seen the scrub can hardly vision it. To see it at its best, to behold its virgin beauty as scrub and grasp its fertility as field and pasture, one must 'go over the bump' [the Kuranda Range railway route] ... the train winds into a green, still Scrub land. Here smooth trunks of tropic trees uphold roofs of mighty mosques where worshippers of Nature may kneel in reverence in a dim religious light – a fierce sunlight toned down by myriad leaves until it falls softly though hazy forest aisles...⁶⁶

Some accounts saw the fecundity of the forest in a less favourable light:

... the scrub is dark and gloomy, hot and moist, very still and quiet. Not a leaf stirs, and one has no sense of direction or of time. The dank smell of rotting leaves pervades everything. Sinuous vines twist round the tree-trunks, and hang down in loops, treacherous lawyer vines seem to be everywhere, their little 'wait-a-whiles' catching one's clothing or tearing pieces of skin... the scrubs are full of interest and life, their denizens being large snakes and small birds... there is the tree climbing kangaroo ... the flying squirrels are pretty things... [but] there is also the 'scrub itch' ...these scrubs are swarming with leeches...⁶⁷

This echoes the earlier belief that rotting vegetation in damp forests was responsible for disease-carrying 'miasmas.' Hints of these beliefs can be discerned in the 1950s when a travel writer in a somewhat lighthearted description of the view of the Barron Gorge from the Kuranda train declared:

...through the carriage windows, it could be seen that it wanted monkeys only, swinging from one tendril to another, to complete a scene comparable with the jungle of darkest Africa. Thick vine-like creepers, as strong as rope, formed patterns among the thick green foliage and rank vegetation of the dank earth. Across the ravine were primitive rainforests...among the enormous ramparts of trees, like cliffs of olive-green stone, kauri pines, the oldest giants of the jungle, stood out clearly like tremendous umbrellas with long brown handles...⁶⁸

⁶⁶ E.J. Brady, *The Land of the Sun*, pp. 96 – 98.

⁶⁷ H. Skardon, "North Queensland Scrubs and their Inhabitants," *Walkabout*, January 1938, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 53 – 57.

⁶⁸ A.C.C. Lock, *Tropical Tapestry*, p. 244.

In a more pragmatic light and with an eye to perceptions of North Queensland in the southern states, the North Queensland Naturalist's Club sought to have the 'scrub' renamed as jungle "...for it is highly desirable that the language as spoken and written in North Queensland be properly understood in other places..."⁶⁹

Not all of the region's vegetation was perceived in Romantic or pejorative terms. Giant strangler figs such as the Curtain Fig Tree, near Yungaburra, were considered to be wonders of Nature. Descriptions began to appear in tourist guides from the 1920s. These vegetative curiosities were described thus:

...the native fig is plentifully seen in the form of shrubs, vines, and enormous trees with hosts of roots intricately interlaced. The latter variety 'spreads her arms, branching so broad and long that on the ground the bended twigs take root, and daughters grown about the mother tree, a pillared shade.' The fig vine is beautiful, but unkindly. It twines its strong, thick stem round a tree trunk, and finally chokes out the life of the column that gave it support... with its beauty of foliage and fruit, its widely spreading roof and density of shade, the giant fig-tree claims a rightful place to preservation close to streams...⁷⁰

Prior to this travel literature tended to describe tropical vegetation in general terms such as "...the famous Atherton Tableland scrubs..."⁷¹ As indicated earlier unusual tropical vegetation such as the giant strangler figs were portrayed on postcards soon after 1900 and in the *Queenslander* from as early as 1896. Occasionally photographs appeared in early tourism literature.⁷² It was not however until the 1940s that the 'Curtain Fig Tree' was identified in tourism literature as an attraction of the Atherton Tablelands.⁷³

⁶⁹ "Current Nature Topics: meaning of scrub," *Cairns Post*, 31 January 1936.

⁷⁰ QGTB, *North Queensland*, p. 28.

⁷¹ QGIB, *North Queensland Australia: a land teeming with wealth*, p. 22.

⁷² A photograph of a fig tree in Abbott Street, Cairns appeared in an early pictorial publication. See photograph titled 'Fig Tree, Abbott Street, Cairns,' in *Picturesque North Queensland: the winter tourist's paradise*, (Brisbane, 1907), no page number. 10,000 copies were distributed throughout Queensland and other states. *Ibid*.

⁷³ See photograph of 'Curtain Fig Tree,' in QGTB, *Cairns and Hinterland*, no page number.

While the Curtain Fig Tree does not appear in tourism literature until the 1940s it was well known to locals as an attraction by the 1920s when Whitecars were taking visitors to view the giant tree.⁷⁴ By the 1950s it was part of the 'Grand Tour' and 'Tropical Wonderland Tour'.⁷⁵ Brief mention of the tree was made in some of the tourism literature. This was usually in terms of its unusual nature or as a "...freak of nature..."⁷⁶ Few attempts were made to describe how the Curtain Fig Tree developed but one such attempt was made in 1946:

...the Curtain Fig Tree is a variety of fig tree forming a mass of aerial roots. It represents an extreme development of a characteristic feature of many fig trees of the tropical rainforest. These trees start life in the fork or hollow of a forest giant; aerial roots are then sent out, first long slender flexible ones, which, growing longer and stouter, finally reach the ground. These aerial roots branch and rebranch until they eventually form a lattice-like growth which crushes the life out of the tree on which the seedling fig has started its life. The host tree eventually decays and its rotting wood and bark afford food which is absorbed by the roots of the fig.

The Curtain Fig Tree is not a parasite in the sense that it feeds on the living tissues of the host, but crushes it to death in the same way as a carpet snake crushes its prey before devouring. Occasionally these trees start life in rock crevices and their roots may be seen clinging tightly to rocks, getting into crevices and splitting the rocks in the process of growth...⁷⁷

The Curtain Fig Tree was not often described in Romantic terms. A travel writer and his travelling companion in the 1950s, appear to see the Curtain Fig Tree as the benign or known aspect of a gloomy and mysterious jungle surround:

...we have returned to the patch of jungle on the outskirts of Yungaburra. The foliage-lined bitumen road, and a Main Roads Commission notice, 'To the Curtain Fig Tree,' are the only evidence that civilisation has invaded this part of Queensland. We follow the track down an incline to the Curtain Fig. The earth is dank from recent rain. The jungle is thick, and the trees and herbage are wrapped

⁷⁴ F. Pelgrave, *Whitecars*, no publishing details, undated, p. 23.

⁷⁵ QGTB, *Tour No. Q9: The Grand Tour*, (Brisbane, circa 1955), no page number.

⁷⁶ "On The Move: tropical tableland," *Walkabout*, September 1964, vol. 30, no. 7, p. 39.

⁷⁷ "Curtain Fig Tree," *Ibid.*, July 1946, vol. 12, no. 9, p. 24.

in impenetrable gloom, through with the sunbeams endeavor to penetrate with little success.

The notes and cries from a score of different birds are bewildering. They can be heard but not seen. We pause and realise that we are in a different world; a region where the jungle law of tooth and nail holds sway. But the Curtain Fig is our immediate objective, and we keep walking. Suddenly it appears, a centuries old, tall tree; one of the most remarkable sights we have seen. Countless roots thrust themselves downwards and outwards from about half way up the tree. It becomes a veritable curtain that screens off a part of the jungle, completely hiding from view that which lies on the other side of it... we doubt whether there could be another such spectacular tree in the world...⁷⁸

Few of the photographs taken of the Curtain Fig Tree were able to capture the height and structure of the tree. One taken during the 1940s despite being in black and white captures the majesty and uniqueness of this attraction. (see Figure 6.7) Another, and the only postcard located of the Curtain Fig Tree, was published in the 1960s. (see Figure 6.8) Despite being in colour, it does not capture the grandeur of the tree as well as the earlier black and white photograph. The undergrowth in the later colour photograph is in a more natural or unkempt state than the 1940s.

Today the area surrounding the Curtain Fig Tree has changed considerably. Interpretative signage educates tourists about the formation of the tree. Large numbers of tourists visit it every year. In 1994 58,000 arrived in commercial vehicles and 123,000 in private vehicles.⁷⁹ Visitors are guided to the tree by a boardwalk and the wooden fences serve to further separate people from nature. (see Figure 6.9) While much of Lock's description of his visit to the tree probably still applies, it is doubtful if one could today experience nature as he did in the 1950s, particularly those visitors who arrive at scheduled times in tour coaches.

⁷⁸ A.C.C. Lock, *People We Met*, pp. 244 – 245.

⁷⁹ Wet Tropics Management Agency, cited by D. Getz, "Resort centred tours," see Table 1, p. 26

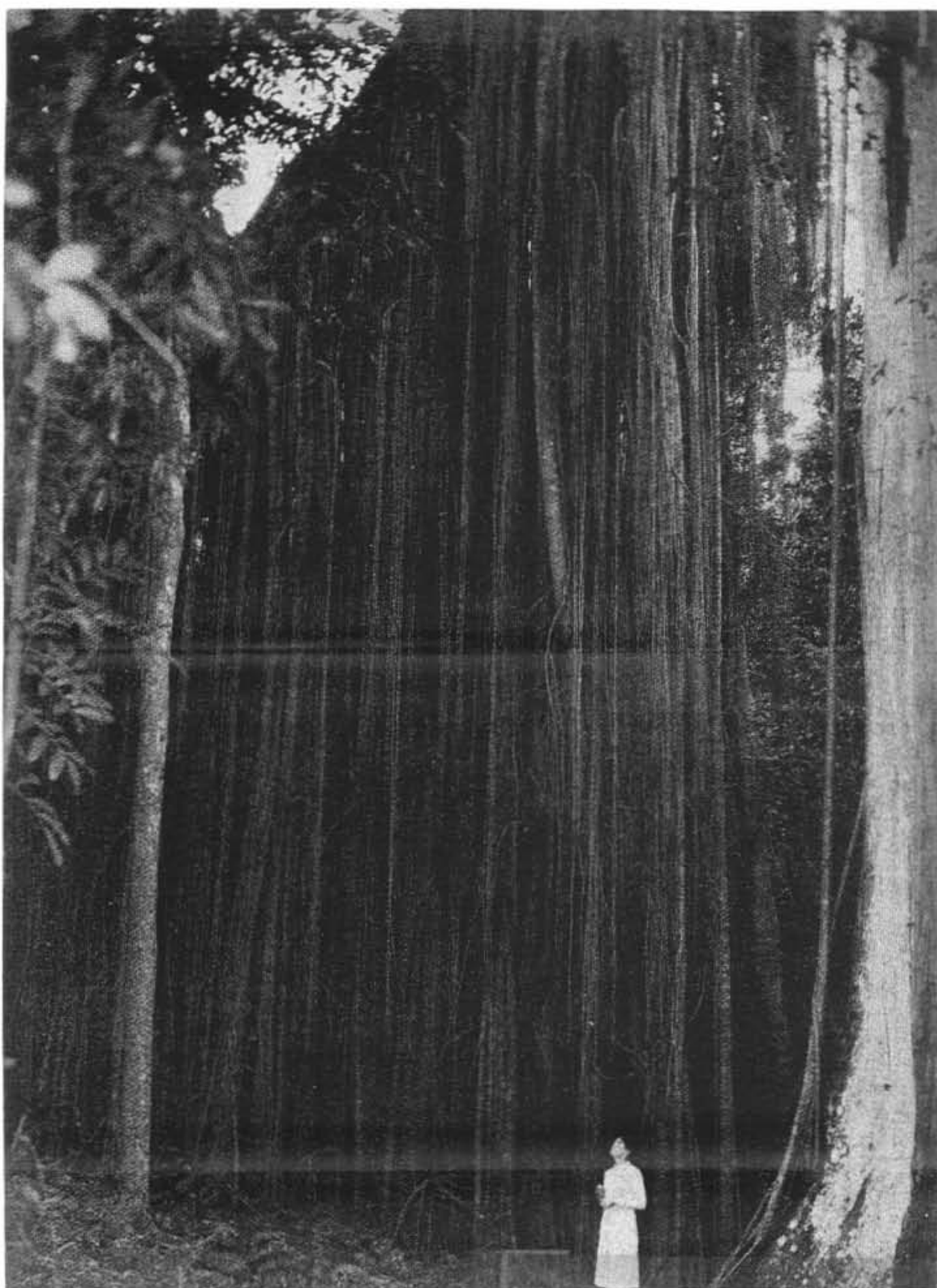


Figure 6.7: The Curtain Fig Tree. (*Walkabout*, 1 July 1946, p. 25)



Figure 6.8: 'A marvel of the North Queensland tropical jungle, the Curtain Fig Tree near Yungaburra.' (G.K. Bolton, Cairns, circa 1960s)

The term 'rainforest' was coined in 1898⁸⁰ but it was not a descriptor applied to the tropical vegetation of the Cairns region until the 1970s. The ecological recasting of jungle as 'rainforest' confronted the older, negative ideas of jungle as uncontrolled, dangerous or a useless barrier to settlement. Now rainforest is rare and precious, especially as the 'lungs' of the earth.

The early travellers and settlers of tropical regions such as Cairns carried with them different and often conflicting views of the jungle, views which impacted on the development of the cultural landscape. The jungle and the wilderness can be viewed in terms of their binary oppositions: the wilderness as a primeval and alien landscape as opposed to the jungle as an aspect of the garden that God fashioned as a home for human beings; or the wilderness as evoking an immeasurably remote past while the jungle evokes a still-savage present; or the wilderness as a barren wasteland while the jungle suggests a tortuous complexity with disordered and disorientating growth.⁸¹ While probably somewhat fanciful in relation to the Cairns region, aspects of this way of seeing the landscape are apparent, particularly in articles in the *Cairns Argus* prior to 1900. A reporter for this paper wrote a series of articles in 1893 describing much of the landscape of the Cairns region as it was opened up by the Cairns to Mareeba rail line. Kuranda and the countryside between Kuranda and Mareeba were described thus:

...From the [Barron] Falls to Kuranda the scenery is picturesque: the train careering along the banks of the Barron, which, on the opposite side, presents an almost uninterrupted view of ever green foliage... [Kuranda is] a miniature Garden of Eden ...after Welcome Pocket was passed I comprehended why the place had been so named, for a more desolate, barren and starved looking country now traversed it would be hard to conceive. I believe it is dignified with the title

⁸⁰ N. Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature*, p. 241.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117.

'open forest country.' It is open enough, but as forest infers trees it may be mentioned that none are to be seen, unless stunted and crooked ti-trees come under that category. Here and there a dwarf gum gleams spectrally in the distance, looking as if mourning the surrounding desolation. There is no sign of the presence of man – not a habitation is visible: the wily wallaby haunts not the place, birds and animals alike shun it. Now commences the ant-hill period...⁸²

Despite the juxtaposition of the aesthetically barren landscape between Kuranda and Mareeba and the 'Garden of Eden' that was Kuranda, this was not an explicitly stated relationship. What is more apparent when examining particularly the visual images of the jungle is the suggestion of 'tortuous complexity and disorientating growth' as seen in parts of the 'Maze' near Kuranda. (see Figure 6.10) However, most pictorial representations of the jungle had a humanising feature, framed by the jungle. There is no evidence to suggest that the tropical vegetation of the Cairns region was viewed in terms of the 'still-savage present' Slater identified in her analysis of the Amazonian rainforest. In fact, jungle attractions such as 'Fairyland Tea Gardens' in Kuranda were transformed into a haven for harmless fairies thereby constructing the jungle as a safe and familiar form of tropical vegetation.

Conservation of the rainforest did not feature highly on the agenda of the early migrants and investors in the region. There were however a number of early efforts which reflected the influence of Romantic rather than utilitarian thinking in this remote part of the world. Gilbert White expressed concern, albeit couched in pragmatic terms, regarding the future of Cairns and the hinterland without tropical rainforest:

... It seems a pity that the glorious scrub should be rapidly becoming a thing of the past, but as long as man lives by bread he must clear the soil. The Queensland Government should surely, however, keep considerable areas of untouched scrub

⁸² 'Our Reporter,' "From Cairns to Mareeba Goldfield: Kuranda and Myola," *Cairns Argus*, 1893, 9 July.

as National Parks, and as a refuge and asylum for the peculiar fauna and flora of the district; for once destroyed it can never be replaced. There is at present an ever-increasing number of visitors, who come north to escape the southern winter, but they will not come merely to see flourishing farms where once the giant trees formed aisles of deepest shade, and the gorgeous butterflies flitted in the sun...⁸³

Others saw the 'shameful waste' of the rainforest as being less dire and encouraged visitors to wander down the old bullock tracks and enjoy a 'scrub' experience:

...let me say that the visitor here will find his, or her chief delight in being allowed to wander on a sunny day in dry weather, along an old scrub timber track. The close-packed jungle, set thickly with huge old trees; the network of vine-ropes festooning the cool green gloom aloft; the shafts of sunlight darting through the leafy canopy overhead; the musical echoing call of unseen birds; the rushing splash of hidden streams close at hand; ferns, orchids, strange growths of all kinds; the slightly awed, and altogether delightful feeling of being very close to Nature; all these impressions will combine to leave a permanent and delightful memory. But – do not sit down on that inviting log to rest, or you will have another very lasting impression of physical hardship, caused by scrub-itch parasites...⁸⁴

Wilderness

In recent times wilderness has come to be understood as 'nature.' It is no longer associated with the barren, dreary connotations of pre World War II. It is an idealised landscape. That it is not 'real' does not appear to be important with regard to the human psyche; that it is 'there' is often enough. It represents untouched nature, uncontaminated by human intervention, despite the impossibility of this concept.⁸⁵ Today it stands as the furthest point from the city on the urban-natural continuum. This reconceptualisation of wilderness was under way by the end of the 19th century when the natural world as

⁸³ G. White, *Thirty Years*, p. 24.

⁸⁴ O. Nerve, "The Atherton Tableland: resources, advantages – and drawbacks," *C & C*, July 1928, vol. 4, no. 14, p. 47.

⁸⁵ C. Slater, "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative," p. 117.



Figure 6.9: The Curtain Fig Tree, 2003



Figure 6.10: The 'Maze' near Kuranda. (P04799, Cairns Historical Society)

constructed by the Romantics began to emphasise 'wilderness' rather than cultivated landscapes. According to William Cronon:

...wilderness had once been the antithesis of all that was orderly and good – it had been the darkness, one might say, on the far side of the garden wall – and yet now it was frequently likened to Eden itself.⁸⁶

Whereas the ideal world of humanity had once been poised between the polarities of city and countryside, it was now increasingly between those of city/cultivation, and wilderness. In Tuan's words:

... wilderness signified chaos, the haunt of demons – and purity. The garden and the farm represented the idyllic life, but even Eden had its snake; country estates induced melancholy; and the farm was for peasants. The city symbolised order, freedom and glory, but also worldliness, the corruption of natural virtues, and oppression... [in the wake of the Industrial Revolution] images are reversed so that the wilderness stands for order (ecological order) and freedom whereas the ... city is chaotic, a jungle ruled by social outcasts...⁸⁷

This change was partly brought about by a reduction in the importance of agriculture to the economies of the Western world. In addition, the Church's view of the wilderness, either as a place where demons dwelled or as a place of refuge, where prophets or the select of God live out ascetic ideals, has waned.⁸⁸ The view of wilderness held by settlers and the Church was further challenged during the 19th century by writers who had taken up the Romantic agenda of the traveller or tourist in search of the sublime.⁸⁹ It is important to note however that this change in attitude to the wilderness was neither rapid nor even in its progression.

⁸⁶ W. Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in W. Cronon (Ed), *Uncommon Ground: rethinking the human place in nature*, (London, 1995), pp. 71 – 72.

⁸⁷ Y. Tuan, *Topophilia*, p. 248.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

The notion of wilderness was a powerful image during the exploration of Australia. Romanticism extolled the value of the "...strange, the exotic and occasionally the grotesque..."⁹⁰ All of this was to be found in Australia and the lure of the wild became a potent reason for exploring. These Romantically fuelled journeys, in which the explorers were in contest with nature rather than expressing unity with it, provided accounts which were important in the development of tourism in Australia. However travel companies such as Burns Philp could reassure their prospective travellers that while seeing:

...what the weird 'bush' was like that the solitary pioneers faced not so long ago [they would] find all the advantages of civilisation while travelling along the edge of wilderness...⁹¹

It is difficult to ascertain if explorers in this region were important in the development of tourism in the Cairns region. However, the exploits of Robert Arthur Johnstone, naturalist, explorer and Sub-Inspector of the Native Mounted Police would have brought to the public's attention various scenic attractions in the region.⁹²

Despite this 'discovery' of strange and wonderful landscapes it would appear that only Burns Philp's travel literature was framed in the context of wilderness by the twentieth century. This appears to be due to the relationship between wilderness and nation-building in New World countries such as Australia and America. These countries were being 'discovered' and 'settled' while the wilderness was being reconceptualised under

⁹⁰ B.F. de Vries, "The lure of the wild: a Romantic motive for the exploration of the Australian interior, 1830 – 70," *Australian Historical Geography*, August 1980, No. 1 p. 28.

⁹¹ *Picturesque Travel*, No. 3, p. 46.

⁹² Robert Arthur Johnstone arrived in Queensland around 1865. In his role as Sub-Inspector of the Native Mounted Police he explored the Johnstone, Tully and Mulgrave River areas around 1872. He was part of Dalrymple's expedition which explored the coast from Innisfail to Cooktown, locating the Mossman and Daintree Rivers in 1874, and climbed Mount Bartle Frere in 1873. J.W. Johnstone-Need, *Spinifex & Wattle: reminiscences of pioneering in North Queensland, being the experiences of Robert Arthur Johnstone, explorer and naturalist*, (Cairns, undated), pp. i – iv.

the influence of the Romantic Movement. Their national images are bound up in the process of converting wilderness to settlement and cultivation, a necessary pre-condition for establishing a new civilisation and landscape.⁹³ Short explains this as the opposition of the classical perspective to the Romantic:⁹⁴

... the classical stance tends to be avowedly progressive. It sees human action in a broad, upward, improving trajectory, a movement from shadow to light, from the darkness of the past to the light of the present, sometimes with a utopian belief in the bright glow of the future... [for the Romantics] life in the present is a shadow of the spiritually richer and deeper life of the past... For the classicists, the conquest of wilderness is a signal of human achievement, a victory over the dark forces and a measure of social progress. For the Romantics, it is a measure of the fall from grace. While the classicists fear the wilderness and want to subdue it, the Romantics revere it and want to preserve it...⁹⁵

The tourism cultural landscape of the Cairns region was being established when the wilderness in the Elizabethan sense of "...not a barren waste, but a dense, uncultivated wood..."⁹⁶ was still being pushed back; boundaries between the cultivated and the uncultivated, the marker of 'civilisation,' were still being determined. The fluidity of landscape in the period 1890 to 1920 can be seen in terms of the polarity between these two perspectives: the utilitarian focus of most of the residents of the area and the recognition of Romantic appeal to tourists by a small group. Commentators such as Victor Kennedy described the 'taming' of the coastline north of Cairns with the construction of the Cook Highway to Port Douglas and highlighted the tension between the two perspectives:

...here is the first glimpse of that series of beaches...that Cook and the old sea farers saw but which has never been made available to succeeding generations of

⁹³ J. Short, *Imagined Country: society, culture and environment*, (London, 1991), p. 20.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Short's perspective is one of 18th century neo-classicism and the product of the Enlightenment as opposed to classical thinking from ancient times.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

white folk. One stands upon the brink of this cliff where the road will go soon to Port Douglas...at the rear is virgin scrub which, until very recently, had known nothing of the restlessness, the freakishness, the rowdy energy of the white man [sic]. But now that energy is apparent. Where once stood (weathering the wild and vicious winds of the Coral Sea) the rude gunyah of the primitive inhabitants of this coastline, now stand the iron and canvas camps of the road workers...strong and very modern looking, yet withal not inspiring, not picturesque, not even as much in keeping with the rugged cliff and the wailing she-oaks, as those thatched gunyahs of many mournful years ago. Still there is such a spirit as progress and it must be served. The primitive must not linger too long upon the stage; so this road shall for ever wipe from a page of North Queensland history that paragraph of land wastage and economic ineptitude associated with the trusteeship of the Aborigine...⁹⁷

With 'taming the wilderness' and capitalist ethics predominant, there was little room for a Romantic perspective of the cultural landscape to prevail. However survive it did in a small number of tourist attractions in the region. This emphasis on 'Romantic wilderness' as the major attraction may well account for the ephemeral nature of tourist attraction infrastructure, apart from the more prosaic cause, the difficulties in obtaining more substantial building materials.

Conclusion

'Tropical Nature' is different. It is an emotional experience, a sensual experience. It is associated with myths and as a result it is cloaked in high expectations. It is the 'other,' something to be delighted in or feared, or a mixture of both. The idea of 'tropical nature' and the rainforest has changed over the last 100 years with Romantic and picturesque descriptions being replaced by ecological descriptions. Despite changes in language apparently mirroring changing perceptions, the actual rainforest (and its uses) has changed little. This is particularly striking, particularly when one notes that visually

⁹⁷ V. Kennedy, *Cairns North Queensland*, p. 135.

rainforest has changed little in the last 100 years while the language applied to the rainforest has changed dramatically.

The tourist attractions that developed around 'tropical nature' in the Cairns region reflected the Romantic notions of the era. These attractions stimulated the imagination and the emotion of many visitors. They conjured up Romantic re-imaginings of the landscape, ranging from benign fairies to the sublime, although extreme sublime imaginings and emotions do not appear to have been common in the Cairns tourism cultural landscape, E.J. Brady and Archibald Meston aside. The fecund and overwhelming exoticism also associated with tropical rainforests was not used deliberately in tourist literature, being too close to darker images of degeneracy and disease. However 'tropical nature' remains integral to the traveller's experience of the region. Although depicted in different language, the myths and expectations attached to tropical regions continue to be as influential and evocative as ever. This reclassification and re-imagining is an essential process of tourism.